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THE
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS

BLAIR
and
ROBERTSON

XLII
1670-1700

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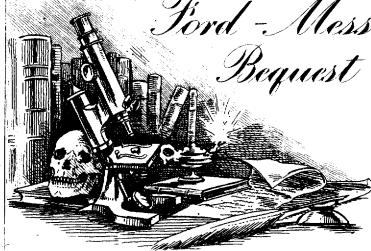
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E. F. PAPER

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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XLII—1670-1700



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PREFACE

The tone of this volume is mainly ecclesiastical, although many sidelights on the civil government and social life are incidentally shown. All the intense bitterness that generally accompanies contests between the regulars and seculars is seen in the Camacho controversy, in which the former recognize that they are fighting for life and existence in the Philippines, and hence spare no effort to gain their ends. As will be seen later this fight between regulars and seculars is quieted only for the moment, to break out with greater force under Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina; while in our own day, the friar memorial of 1898 (never presented), resorts to the same threat of the regulars to resign their curacies. This struggle, as well as the history of the Augustinian order in the latter part of the seventeenth century (which occupies the greater part of the volume), forms a rich commentary on the life of the times, and one can reconstruct easily the Manila of that period, and recognize the hopes and fears of its various classes.

The noted ecclesiastical controversy between Archbishop Camacho and the religious orders, which began with the arrival of that prelate in the islands (1697), was hardly second in bitterness and

importance to that between his predecessor Pardo with the secular government. As in the latter case, we furnish accounts of this episode by persons actually concerned therein; but all these are written by members of the orders, who therefore are opposed to Camacho, no defense of his side being at present available. The first of these (unsigned) is apparently the usual record of events by the Manila Jesuits. Soon after Camacho's arrival, the regulars appeal to him for aid in a dispute which they have with the secular government regarding their lands; but he makes such aid conditional on their submitting to episcopal visitation in those curacies which they serve as parish priests. They refuse to do so, and appeal from the archbishop to the papal delegate; then a controversy ensues between the two prelates over the exemptions claimed by the regulars, each wielding the thunderbolts of the Church—censures, fines, and excommunications—against the other, a warfare imitated by some of the ecclesiastical rank and file with their fists and stones as weapons, all to the scandal of the commonwealth. Finally the governor interposes, and the affair is settled for the time, the two prelates absolving each other in turn. The Audiencia compel the religious orders to pay tithes for the support of the church, from the incomes of their large estates. This account is followed by a letter (June 2, 1698) from the delegate above mentioned to the pope, giving a detailed report of his proceedings in the affair, and complaining that the archbishop has defied his authority as delegate, and therefore that of the supreme pontiff himself. The writer, Fray Andres Gonzalez, advises that new safeguards be given to the office of delegate in the islands.

In attempting to enforce his visitation of the regulars who act as curas, Camacho makes such official visits in some of the Indian villages near Manila, and issues decrees affecting such parishes; two specimens of these are given. After censuring the prevalent ignorance of Christian doctrine among the native parishioners, the archbishop strictly charges the ministers who are over them to give their people regular and thorough instruction in the faith; to exact no fees for confession and penance; to keep the registers of births, marriages and deaths, and records of fees received thereat, more carefully; to make no distinction between rich and poor in certain functions; and to keep an itemized record of the church incomes and expenditures. Annexed thereto is a copy of the revised tariff of fees which may be demanded by the curas, singers, and sacristans for their respective functions.

In 1700, the five religious orders in the Philippines present to the king, through their representatives at Madrid, a statement of their controversy with Archbishop Camacho over his attempt to subject the regular curas to episcopal visitation; and they make formal renunciation of the mission curacies which they hold in the islands, declaring that they cannot longer hold these under Camacho and the irksome restrictions which he is attempting to impose upon the regular curas. Their reasons for this procedure are stated at length. They did not choose service as curas for their calling and profession, yet they are willing to fill those positions so long as they can do so under the supervision of their own provincials; but subjection to the archbishop so changes their estate in life that they cannot endure the additional burdens and dangers thus imposed.

Moreover, justice requires that they should, as parish priests, share the privileges and advantages allowed to the secular priests, which is not the case. The subjection which Camacho claims would destroy the rightful liberty of the religious orders, and render them dependent on the wills of the archbishop and governor. In case a regular cura shall commit immoral acts, a conflict of authority will necessarily arise between his provincial and the ecclesiastical authorities; and the difficulties that ensue therefrom react to the oppression and vexation of the entire colony. Moreover, such controversies can seldom be settled by the home government, on account of the great distance of the Philippines from Spain. In such case of transgression by a religious another difficulty arises, that the necessity of referring the case to the public authorities causes undue disgrace to both the offender and his order. The regulars are better qualified to save souls than are the secular priests, but if they are subjected to the ordinary it will be much harder for them—the authority of their provincials over them being thus weakened—to observe their priestly vows with due strictness; also, some would thus be encouraged to undue self-will, to worldliness, and to intrigues for securing worldly advantages—especially by the perpetual tenure of ecclesiastical benefices. These arguments are supported, too, by both history and experience. The orders then refute certain arguments advanced by the archbishop. Their pious labors for the benefit of souls, in all ranks and conditions of men, are recounted; and many of these, especially in Manila, would never be accomplished if they depended on the secular priests. The conduct of Camacho in

opposing the papal delegate, and in refusing to give the orders copies of his decrees concerning them, is censured, his own arguments being dexterously turned against him – as is the case also with his complaints to the court that his authority, functions, and usefulness are restricted by the fact that the regular curas are not subjected to him; and his request to be permitted to resign his see and return to Europe. The writers support their position by reference to what the orders have accomplished in the islands, and by the exemptions and privileges granted to them by the Holy See. In view of all these things, the orders make formal renunciation of their mission curacies – especially as the remoteness of the islands gives them little prospect of relief from Spain in these difficulties; and even if royal decrees are sent to the islands, the archbishop is likely to refuse obedience to them. They make complaint of various acts of the bishop against them, especially of the reprimand given them by the Audiencia through his influence, and his disregard of the immunity of their property. The orders are working in Filipinas in entire harmony and amity, but this does not suit the archbishop; and they feel that they cannot hope for peace or safety so long as they act as curas there with Camacho as archbishop. A decree by Carlos II (May 20, 1700) approves the proceedings of the archbishop, promises royal aid in adjusting his difficulties with the orders, and authorizes him to reform and correct the religious when necessary.

The history of the Augustinian order in Filipinas in the latter part of the seventeenth century is recounted by Casimiro Diaz of that order, in book iv of his *Conquistas* (much of which has already ap-

peared in our series, and which is here concluded); this final part contains an unusual amount of secular history, for which reason we omit but little of Diaz's narrative. Beginning with 1671, he gives an account of each Augustinian provincial chapter-session, and the officers elected therein, up to 1689; and relates various matters concerning his order and religious interests generally, with which he interweaves the secular annals of that time. The troublous times which the Philippine colony has experienced since the days of Corcuera are turned into peace under Manuel de León (1669-76). He extends the commerce of the islands to China, India, and Java, and thus enables the citizens of Manila to attain unusual wealth and prosperity. He sends Jesuit missionaries to Siao, but they are afterward seized by the Dutch, who conquer that island. Unfortunately, the governor interferes with the election of officers in the Augustinian chapter-session of 1671, and prevents the election of the father who is desired by the chapter as provincial. In this year the new cathedral edifice of Manila is dedicated. Reports are circulated of a coming attack on the city by Chinese corsairs; due precautions are taken, but no enemy appears. A French bishop who stops at Manila on his way to China is detained by the authorities and finally sent to Spain; his representations there cause the issue of royal decrees which prove troublesome and annoying to Philippine ecclesiastics, and afterward the ordination of Indian natives as priests – a practice which Diaz disapproves. A controversy arises between Archbishop López and Jerónimo de Herrera, chaplain of the royal military chapel; this and other troubles, with his old age, cause the death of the archbishop (April, 1674).

The chapter-session of 1674 marks the cessation of various troubles within the order, occurring within the provincialate of Fray Jerónimo de Leon, and the beginning of a great increase in the observance of the rules of the order. José Duque is elected provincial at this time; he sends a procurator to Europe for more missionaries, a band of whom arrive in 1679. Diaz enlarges on the prosperity of Manila during this period, caused by its foreign trade, especially that with China and India; pleasure and luxury prevail in that city, and fortunes are spent therein. He describes the people and industries of the Coromandel coast and the Madras settlements of the English and the Portuguese; in the former, entire religious toleration prevails, and Christians, Jews, Mahometans and heathens live together in entire harmony. In 1676 occurs the death of Governor Manuel de León, from excessive obesity; he leaves all his property for charitable purposes. The election of provincial in 1677 falls on Fray Juan de Jeréz; in that year also the Dominican Fray Felipe Pardo becomes archbishop of Manila, and Auditor Coloma, the acting governor, dies; he is succeeded by Auditor Mansilla. The majority of Carlos II of Spain is celebrated at Manila with magnificent fiestas, December 4-7, 1677. At the close of these gayeties occurs a severe earthquake, which inflicts much damage – fortunately, with very little loss of life. In 1678 comes the new governor, Juan de Vargas Hurtado. His government begins well, but after a time he tires of its burdens, and falls under the sway of a relative, Francisco Guerrero, who is crafty and selfish, and gains an influence over the governor which enables him to turn everything to his own advantage, and to be “the power behind the throne;”

afterward, in time of need, he escapes to Nueva España, and leaves Vargas to bear the penalties for both of them. During Vargas's term of office the rich trade with India and other foreign lands is well maintained, and the prosperity and wealth of Manila are greatly increased. In 1679 arrive two bands of new missionaries, who are Jesuits and Augustinians; they come (especially the latter) in good time, since the members of the order are so few that they cannot fill the ministries allotted to them – which is the condition of the other orders, and even of the secular clergy. In this galleon comes a political prisoner, Fernando de Valenzuela, the disgraced favorite of Queen Mariana of Spain, who is exiled to the Philippines for ten years. The government of Vargas is successful, and the prosperity of Manila continues. An embassy comes from the ruler of Borneo to ask for the establishment of commerce between that island and Manila, and to adjust some disputes over the relations between the Spaniards and Borneans.

The Augustinians prosper during Jeréz's term as provincial. Just before the chapter-session of 1680 convenes, some of the friars who were born in the Indias lay claim to the offices in the order, and attempt to enforce this pretension by legal proceedings; the archbishop decides against them, and they are punished for their rebellion. Fray Diego de Jesús is elected provincial. A bishop for the diocese of Cebú arrives this year, the only consecrated bishop whom the islands have had for several years; this prelate confers holy orders on many who had been waiting for that privilege, and reconciles several persons with the governor – which official has

by this time become highly unpopular with the citizens, on account of his greed for gain and his harsh and disagreeable behavior. Charges against him are sent to Madrid, which later cause his removal from office. In November, 1680, a wonderful comet appears, which in the superstitious belief of that time, causes much evil. An envoy is sent from Manila to make arrangements with the Portuguese of Macao for the regulation of commerce and "the entrance of Spanish missionaries into China by that door." With this envoy come to Manila (in 1681) some clerics to receive ordination; returning to Macao, with some Jesuits, the vessel is lost and never heard from. In this year arrive at Manila two assistant bishops, three royal auditors, and a large reinforcement of Spanish troops. The galleon which sails this year for Acapulco is driven back to the islands by contrary winds, thus causing great loss to the citizens. (In each year Diaz relates the departure or arrival of the galleons, failure in which is a calamity for Manila.) The provincialate of Fray Diego de Jesús is tranquil, and great progress is made by the religious in his care; his personal character and piety are eulogized by our historian. In 1683 Fray José Duque is elected in his place, for a second term. Some of the brethren go to China as missionaries; they encounter much annoyance from the requirement there made that they must be subject to the apostolic vicars of Rome. This subjection, however, is afterward greatly modified and lessened by decrees secured (1688) by the procurator of the province at Rome, Fray Álvaro de Benavente. In 1683 an envoy from Siam comes to Manila, partly to secure permission for the prime minister of that

country to settle in Manila: this favorite, who was a Greek, intrigues with the French to surrender Siam to them, but the enterprise fails, and the Greek loses his wealth and his life. The envoy (an Augustinian friar named Sousa) encounters shipwreck on another journey, and spends the rest of his life as a hermit in Siam. The Portuguese governor of Timor and Solor on his way thither halts at Manila, ill; Governor Vargas gives him hospitality and medical treatment, and some Spaniards as an escort; but Ontuñez finds on reaching his islands that a usurper is holding them with armed men, and is obliged to return to Manila. In that city, during the exile of the archbishop (account of which has been here omitted, to avoid repetition), the ecclesiastical cabildo punish his chief supporters with banishment.

In 1684 Governor Curuzelaegui comes to the islands, and with him Juan de Zalaeta to take the residencias of Vargas and his favorite Guerrero; but the latter escapes from the islands in time to avoid this ordeal. A large band of Augustinian religious also arrive. The new governor restores the banished archbishop to his see. In 1685 a terrible epidemic of smallpox ravages not only the islands but China and India, and millions of people die from it; then follows a cruel famine, and still more deaths.

At this time begins the decline of Manila's commerce with Nueva España, partly because more European goods are being sent thither, partly through the heavy taxes and imposts levied on the galleons. The bishop of Nueva Segovia dies, and that diocese remains *sede vacante* until 1704. In the Augustinian chapter of 1686 Juan de Jeréz is again

chosen provincial; he dies within two years, being worn out by overwork in the visitation of all the houses of his order in the islands. Fray Álvaro de Benavente is sent to Rome as procurator of the province. The galleon for Acapulco does not sail this year, for, on the report of pirates cruising around the Embocadero, it is equipped as a war-vessel to attack them and drive them away; but it does not find them, and returns to Manila. In this year of 1686 occurs an abortive insurrection among the Chinese in the Parián; it is undertaken by Sangleys who are fugitive criminals from China, but the ringleaders are put to death, and quiet ensues. Diaz enlarges upon the injurious effects on the Spanish colony of allowing its business and industries to fall into the hands of the Chinese. They are unscrupulous in their dealings with Spaniards; they become Christians through mercenary motives; and they undermine the faith of the Christian Filipinos. They should not be allowed to live among the natives. In this same year occur excessive rains, which ruin the crops and cause great scarcity and suffering; and for two years no galleons can sail to Acapulco. A large part of the Chinese settlement near Manila is consumed by fire (March 28, 1688); and the people are harassed by a fearful plague of locusts, many earthquakes, and a fatal epidemic of influenza. Diaz relates the way in which the persons most prominent in the Pardo controversy ended their lives. An expedition is sent to chastise the murderous attacks made by the Zambals and Negritos; this is partly accomplished, but the troops are attacked by influenza and so weakened that they are compelled to return to Manila.

The Audiencia having been broken up by the death or the exile of the auditors, a new Audiencia arrives in 1688; also a special commissioner to investigate the proceedings of Vargas and other officials. Vargas is exiled to the provinces, and afterward sent to Spain, but dies on the voyage thither; Diaz characterizes his official character. The exiled favorite Valenzuela is set at liberty, but is accidentally killed at Mexico. While attending to the despatch of the Acapulco galleon, Governor Curucelaegui dies (April 27, 1689); he is praised by Diaz as an excellent ruler. In the chapter of 1689 Fray Francisco de Zamora is elected provincial. Auditor Abella acts as governor *ad interim*, with much prudence and ability. Archbishop Pardo dies in 1689; the cabildo rule the diocese in his place for a time, but afterward cede this authority to Barrientos, bishop of Troya. This leads to much dissension and trouble for a time, Barrientos claiming supreme authority; but he is induced to yield this claim, and peace is restored.

In 1690 arrives a new governor, Fausto Cruzat y Góngora. With him come a band of Augustinian religious, in charge of Fray Álvaro de Benavente; his adventures and the concessions that he obtains are recounted. Brief sketches are given of the twenty-seven missionaries who come this year. Diaz closes his work with some account of Cruzat's government. He is an upright and honorable man, but very harsh and severe in collecting the sums due to the government, directing "all his efforts to the increase of the royal revenues." He has a new galleon built, the largest ever made; but on its first voyage it is wrecked on the coast of Lubán – a terrible loss to the islands, since it was laden with more and richer mer-

chandise than usual. Another galleon is also lost at sea (1693). A patache is sent from Acapulco, and on its return trip (1694) encounters an "isle of birds," where the crew secure enough provisions and water to complete their voyage to Acapulco. Cruzat's wife dies in this same year; Diaz pays high tribute to this lady's beauty, goodness, and virtue, which render her beloved by all the people.

THE EDITORS

August, 1906.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS,
1670-1700

The Camacho ecclesiastical controversy. [Andres Gonzalez, O.P.], and others; 1697-1700.

The Augustinians in the Philippines, 1670-1694. Casimiro Diaz, O.S.A.; 1718. [From his *Conquistas*.]

SOURCES: The first of these documents is composed of several parts – the first, second, fourth, and fifth of which are obtained from the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), iv, pp. 107-115, 119-133, v, pp. 231-296, and iv, pp. 201-206, respectively; and the third from a contemporary MS. belonging to Edward E. Ayer. The second document is from Diaz's *Conquistas* (Manila, 1890), pp. 440-444, 689-817; from a copy in the possession of James A. Robertson.

TRANSLATIONS: These are by Emma Helen Blair.

THE CAMACHO ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSY, 1697-1700

News from Filipinas since July, 1697

With the arrival of his illustrious Lordship the archbishop, Doctor Don Diego Camacho y Avila,¹ were renewed the former claims for the subjection of the regulars to the visitation. He commenced at Tondo and Binondo, mission villages of the fathers of St. Dominic and St. Augustine, in which places he caused edicts to be read, and appointed secular priests as curas. They broke open the doors of the said two churches with axes; and on seeing this the provincials, all agreeing, presented their renunciation [of those mission fields], and ordered all their subordinates to withdraw from the doctrinas of these dis-

¹ At the end of this document appear the following memoranda relative to the archbishop's voyage to the islands: "Archbishop Camacho embarked at Acapulco for Manila on March 30, 1697. The lading of the ship was made in great haste, because there was in Acapulco a fearful pestilence. Several died from this pest on the ship, within a few days - among whom were the fiscal of his Majesty, and a Jesuit and a Dominican. On the 19th of July they encountered a terrible storm, from which they escaped only through the intercession of St. Francisco Javier, a Jesuit, casting into the water an order of the saint in which he promised that they should have no [cause for] fear. On July 24, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they anchored in the port of Palapag, where they suffered from a baguio. On the eighth day of September, the archbishop made his public entry into Manila."

tricts, Tagalos, Pampanga, Laguna, and Balayan. When it was so quickly seen that they were coming into retirement at Manila, [the ecclesiastical authorities] were obliged to desist from their purpose, after [having caused the religious] many annoyances.

Claim was made to the [right of] visitation of the hospitals of San Gabriel and San Lazaro, and the royal hospital. The Franciscans and the Dominicans concealed the keys, and the bishop had to desist, as greatly vexed as before. Auditor Don Juan de Sierra, in virtue of his commission for the adjustment of lands royal and unassigned,² cited the regulars to appear before him. He insisted on legal proceedings; but they, fortifying themselves with the censures of the bull *De la Cena*,³ decrees 15 and 17, declined his jurisdiction. The judge proceeded to

² Spanish, *realengos*; "applied to the villages which are not held by seigniors or by the religious orders, and to lands belonging to the state" (Barcia).

"Auditor Sierra held a commission from the court for legalizing the ownership of lands in Filipinas; and in the fulfilment of this charge he demanded from the friars the documents which justified their right to the magnificent estates of which they called themselves the owners." (Montero y Vidal, *Hist. de Filipinas*, p. 385.)

³ This bull was a papal sentence of excommunication formerly published against heretics every Holy (or Maundy) Thursday; for ages it was publicly read on that day, otherwise known as the *feria quinta in Cæna Domini*; hence its common title, as given in the text. The latest form which this bull assumed was given to it by Urban VIII in 1627; it is entitled, *Pastoralis Romani pontificis vigilantia*, and is divided into twenty sections or decrees. Of these, no. 15 censures such as usurp jurisdiction; it was, then, issued in the interests of liberty in court trials. No. 17 censures those who usurp church revenues, incomes, and the like; and it thus upheld the rights of ownership. This bull is no longer used; its periodical publication was discontinued after 1773, and it was suppressed by Pius IX (October 12, 1869), in force of his constitution, *Apostolicæ Sedis*, issued on that date.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

seize the possessions of the regulars; and they had recourse to the bishop, in order that he should declare that the auditor had incurred censure – asking him to defend the immunity of the said property of the regulars. His illustrious Lordship replied that first the regulars must submit to his visitation; they would not do this, and therefore, when they repeated their request, his illustrious Lordship declared that the secular judge was not committing fuerza.

In virtue of the decree of Gregory XIII, [issued] at the instance of Felipe II, relative to appeals from the Indians,⁴ the regulars appealed to the delegate of Camarines, who sent letters to the archbishop requiring the latter to send him the documents [in the case], with [threats of] censures, and of deprivation *ab ingressu ecclesiæ* [i.e., “of entrance

⁴The decree here mentioned is dated May 15, 1572, and begins, *Exposcit debitum pastoralis officii*. In it provision is made for “appeals from the West Indies, and the islands of the Ocean Sea, subject to the king of Spain.” It orders that appeals be carried, first, from the bishop to the metropolitan; second, from the metropolitan to the next neighboring ordinary – that thus justice might be secured without delay or so heavy expense. Philip II had petitioned to this effect, that cases might be decided by two courts, and no appeal be admitted therefrom; hence the bull of Gregory to the king.

In this case, the appeal was from the metropolitan to the bishop of Camarines – who probably had been commissioned by the pope to act as delegate from an early period in his episcopal career, since he himself mentions (*post*) his having acted in that capacity in the time of Archbishop Pardo. In case of the nearest see being vacant, the official who acted as its head would be delegate for the time being, i.e., would be a vice-ordinary. Also, as those islands were too remote for sending thither delegates from Europe, except in extraordinary cases, the metropolitan of Manila might send a delegate to Camarines. The authority possessed by the delegate in appeal cases (as results from the bull of Gregory) would be definitive and final; he might overrule and even supersede the metropolitan, as being the judge in final appeal. – REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

into the church"]. Seeing that these orders were not obeyed, the regulars again appealed to the delegate, Don Fray Andres Gonzalez, who came in person. He demanded aid from the governor, and, meeting delays, proceeded to make the necessary notifications; then, not being able to obtain from the archbishop the acts from which appeal had been taken, the delegate posted him as having incurred excommunication, and added the threat that he would impose an interdict.

At the same time, the archbishop officiated publicly, and published the delegate as excommunicate. But, seeing that various scandals ensued, and that contests, not only with their hands but with stones and weapons, occurred between some clerics and regulars — some attempting to protect, and others to tear down, the writings and censures posted on the [church] doors by the delegate — the governor and other persons finally interposed, and an agreement was reached by the parties. The two prelates absolved each other *ad invicem* [*i.e.*, in turn], in the presence of the governor; and, as Auditor Sierra desisted from his proceedings, the two prelates and the regulars continued to maintain harmony among themselves. In this condition, therefore, affairs remained; and, without proceeding to new acts or investigations, each party sent to España an account of what had been thus far done, in order to await the decision and sentence from the other side [of the world]. This was the attitude of the delegate and the superiors of the regulars; the archbishop, nevertheless, continued to bring suits against some regulars, whom he censured as agitators. Investigations in these cases were made, penalties of censure being im-

posed on the witnesses to secure their secrecy. The fact of this proceeding was, however, guessed; and the regulars, aided by the delegate, brought forward counter-information of their innocence. But as the case was not one for appeal, and did not belong to the delegate, it did not admit any recourse to him; so the delegate only caused his notary to give an official statement of this [attempt at] recourse, in order that the regulars might repair with it to España and Roma, and the generals of their orders, to relate these occurrences and the innocence of the religious – and, not least, to complain of the opposition and hindrances which had been employed here by the tribunals, both ecclesiastical and secular, against his use and exercise of the power delegated to him.

Even before the arrival of the said delegate, various other investigations had been secretly made in the archiepiscopal court – not only against the regulars at large (*de vita et moribus* [*i.e.*, “in regard to their lives and morals”]), and as to their trading and trafficking, etc.), but against certain individual religious. In these cases, the provincials had, according to their rights, demanded from the archbishop that he refrain from further proceedings and surrender to them the documents therein, since the said provincials were the legitimate superiors and judges of those religious; but this received scant attention. It had also previously occurred that the father minister of the hospital of San Gabriel (who is a Dominican) refused to allow the episcopal visitation, and the [arch]bishop had declared him incontinent, and posted him as excommunicate, without paying any attention to the appeal which that father immediately made. The said father min-

ister amended his conduct, in time; but his name was left on the list of excommunicates until, upon the arrival of the delegate, the matter was settled and the censure laid on him was raised.

Upon the origin of so many storms in so short a space as eight months there was much gossip, with a variety [of opinions]. Some attributed the trouble to the influence of the bishop of La Puebla,⁵ in whose palace the archbishop was a guest for several months; others to the promise that the latter had given, on leaving Nueva España, to various personages with whom he was intimate in La Puebla and Mexico, that he was coming to reduce the regulars of these islands to submission or else destroy them. Others blamed the bishop of La Puebla; for he had warned the archbishop, in order to render him firm, of the disparity of what had been accomplished there by Don Juan de Palafox—who met less resistance there because most of the regulars in Nueva España were natives of that country, while in Filipinas nearly all of them were born in other countries. Others (and these were the majority) blamed the senior auditor, Don Geronimo Barredo, because with little gratitude for the many thousands [of pesos obtained from the orders] as loans and gifts (although he had been so greatly benefited thereby), he had repaid the regulars by abandoning [them] to the two recently-arrived auditors, Don Francisco Guerruela and Don José Pabon. On the one hand, the Audiencia being inclined to the opposing side, the regulars were deprived of the recourse which they, as vassals, ought to have in the royal tribunal;

⁵ Probably Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz, as he was bishop of Puebla in 1696 (Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii, p. 256).

and on the other, it was reported that the said senior auditor made exceedingly frequent visits, at unseasonable hours, to the archbishop's palace, which were returned by that prelate at the auditor's house. As the gossip ran, the auditor directed all the acts and proceedings of the archbishop's court.

Still others, reflecting upon the governor and the limits of his term of office, regarded him as timorous, considering that, since the [commission to take the governor's] residencia⁶ had come to the said senior auditor in the year 97, the fear of the governor was occasioned by the apprehension that the auditor might do him some harm in his residencia. Some others (but only a few) attributed these many disturbances to the cousin of his illustrious Lordship, named Don Juan Camacho, for the sake of his own advantage; and on this account, knowing his disposition, people said that Master-of-camp Don Francisco Guerrero de Ardila had made strenuous efforts, and had even offered to his illustrious Lordship in Mexico considerable sums of money, to procure that, by sending this cousin⁷ to Badajoz, his Lordship should not come to these islands with a companion who could not render his government peaceable.

Nor must I pass over in silence the fact that on the sixteenth day of May the royal Audiencia cited to appear in its hall all the five provincials, to whom – without the courteous observances and respectful address which his Majesty himself observes in his

⁶ Cruzat y Gongora's term of office was lengthened by the failure of his successor to go to the islands. This was Domingo Zabalburu de Echevarri, who was appointed September 18, 1694, but did not reach Manila until 1701.

⁷ Spanish, *sobrino*, which may be applied not only to a brother's or sister's child, but to that of a cousin-german.

decrees – the Audiencia gave a severe reprimand, throwing on them the blame for the late disturbances, and treating them as violators of the peace. The most remarkable thing about this censure was, that it proceeded from the lips of that very senior auditor who, in especial, was regarded as the entire source of the disturbances; and, without permitting the provincials to speak, they were, with the same lack of respect, dismissed by this same official – who some day will have to give an account, before the tribunal of truth, of all these unjust acts.

By the end of the said month, under the compulsion of the threat made against the provincials, by the first, second, and third royal decrees, of banishment and [privation of their] secular incomes, the old-time writ of execution regarding the tithes was enforced, and the religious were obliged to obey. No hearing was given to their repeated protests, or the petitions interposed for the royal Council; nor to their allegations of their rights of prescription in these islands, of their apostolic privileges, of the fact that nearly all who minister here are regulars, and that they have come to these islands not at his Majesty's expense only, but with the greater part of those expenses paid by the religious themselves.

The regulars petitioned for, and took measures to push, a demand upon the royal treasury for more than 300,000 pesos, the amount spent by the religious since the conquest; and another, for another 300,000, the amount which was due to them on account of stipends as religious teachers, which the government had failed to allow them for a period of more than a century – declaring that if these accounts were paid, they would pay the tithes which were claimed

from them; but no hearing was given them. In hatred to the regulars, the tenants on their estates were compelled to pay tithes, the amount of these being deducted from the value of the rent-money.

Letter from Andres Gonzalez to the pope

Most Holy Father:

After kissing with due submission the feet of your Holiness (whom may God preserve, for the prosperous government of His Church), in fulfilment of the obligations of my office as pastor I set forth to your Holiness a very serious controversy in regard to jurisdiction, which at this time has arisen between me and the very reverend archbishop of this city of Manila in these Filipinas Islands, Doctor Don Diego Camacho y Avila. I do so in order that your Holiness, as the person who is most interested in the peace and tranquillity of this church, may apply suitable remedy, and fix an end and limit to this controversy – the origin and course of which I will relate as briefly as possible, in all matters referring to the authentic copy of the acts which I send you with this.

To Licentiate Don Juan de Sierra Osorio, former auditor of this royal Audiencia, and at present judge of criminal cases in the Audiencia of Mejico, was subdelegated the cognizance and settlement of [questions relating to] the lands and possessions which, by sale or gift, have been alienated from the royal patrimony and dominion of our Catholic king and sovereign. In a proclamation which he issued he cited and summoned, with the rest of the holders of the said lands and possessions, the holy religious orders of these islands, ordering them to present,

within the limit of one year, the titles, documents, and credentials which they hold for these lands—with the warning that if these papers were not presented by the end of that period the lands would be reunited to the crown. The superiors of the said religious orders, mindful of the immunity and exemption of their persons and worldly possessions, did not present their documents at the said time; therefore the said auditor actually proceeded to appropriate the said property. The said superiors had recourse to the said very reverend archbishop, asking him to forbid to the said auditor the cognizance of the said cause, and to protect the said property as being ecclesiastical. The said very reverend archbishop took up the matter, and, having drawn up acts, by his definitive sentence (which is found in the said authentic copy) refused ecclesiastical immunity to the said property. The said superiors appealed twice from the said sentence to me, as being the delegate of your Holiness in cases of appeal from this archbishopric, in virtue of a brief by his Holiness Gregory XIII—issued at the instance of our Catholic king Felipe II (whom may God keep). He denied them both these appeals; and, in order to place some limit to these proceedings, they presented themselves before me, with only the authentic official statement of this denial of the said appeals, in course of appeal from that sentence. Having admitted this appeal, in order to proceed to the trial of it I addressed to the said very reverend archbishop, from my episcopal see and city of Nueva Caceres, a compulsory act in which, as the delegate of your Holiness with apostolic authority, I commanded him to order his secretary (before whom the said cause took

place) within twenty-four hours to send me his original acts, or else to begin the copying of them and send it to me when completed. Considering the great distance which lies between this city of Nueva Caceres and that of Manila, the danger and expense of the journeys, the delay of the suit, and the injury to the party therein, I laid these commands on the said very reverend archbishop under the penalty of suspension from the priestly office, *latæ sententiæ*, and warned him of heavier and still heavier censures and penalties in case of his opposition and contumacy. He was notified of this act on the twentieth day of last March, by a religious of the Society of Jesus, to whom I gave commission for this office; for I had learned that no secular priest would dare to make this notification. The said very reverend archbishop, having heard the [reading of the] act, replied that the said father could not perform judicial acts in his archdiocese without presenting a warrant from his notary; and, even supposing that the father could thus act, he appealed from the said command – for which he implored the royal aid against fuerza, and demanded that an official statement be given him, and that meanwhile no detriment be caused him. When the statement was refused to him he again appealed, and threatened [to procure] royal aid against this fuerza; and this alone he gave as his reply, before the said notary – without giving any reason for his appeal, or reducing it to writing, or arguing it in the superior court⁸ in legal form, or asking for apostolic letters, up to the present time.

⁸ Spanish, *ni mejorarla* [*apelacion*]; a legal phrase, meaning “to support the appeal before the superior court, after having appealed before it, by setting forth the injury that is experienced from any act issued by the lower court” (Barcia).

Nevertheless, he then had, and for twenty-three days had kept, the acts in his archives, as appears from a sworn statement by Lerma, the secretary of the royal Audiencia, which is sent with the documents. On that same day (March 20) and the following, he caused to be published and posted on the doors of the churches in this city two edicts against my authority as delegate – in which, with penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, he commanded (in the first edict) that no one, whether secular or regular, in his churches should permit the reading, publication, or posting of any edicts, or of any other kind of letters or bills whatsoever, except those of his provisor, or of the tribunals of the Holy Inquisition and the Crusade – as if my tribunal, jurisdiction, and authority, which is that of the supreme head of the Church, and resides in me, were inferior to those of the said provisor and the said tribunals. In the second edict, increasing the penalty of major excommunication with the reservation to himself [of absolution], he commanded that no one in his archiepiscopal territory should exercise any jurisdiction – whether ordinary, delegate, or subdelegate – even if it were from your Holiness, unless the originals of the bulls or despatches that he carried be first presented to his Lordship, in order that he might give them the license and fulfilment which by right they should have. But he does not consider that my bull and brief is, and has been for more than 140⁹ years since the foundation of the bishoprics of these islands, current and put into practice in them, as also

⁹ So in Ventura del Arco's transcription; but it would seem to be an error for 120 – perhaps a copyist's conjecture of an illegible character – since it apparently refers to Gregory XIII's decree of 1572 (*ante*, p. 27).

has been its free and independent exercise in this archiepiscopal territory. And I have exercised this freedom, on the only two occasions which have been presented to me – the first time, while the very reverend archbishop Don Fray Felipe Pardo was alive, and the second in the year 91 – with the knowledge and approbation of the cabildo close by, *sede vacante*, both which are proved by authentic documents. These I do not send at this time, as they are in my archives in the city of Nueva Caceres, which is distant from this city of Manila sixty leguas; but I promise to send them at the first opportunity, which will be next year. Notwithstanding all this, the said very reverend archbishop published the said two edicts, endeavoring to impede and embarrass, by all possible measures, means, and ways, the said my jurisdiction as delegate, and to subordinate it to his own, in order that I should not exercise or avail myself of it, either in person or through intermediate persons. On account of this, the superiors of the said religious orders found themselves obliged to resort again to me; and they entreated me to come in person to this city of Manila, to defend my jurisdiction, and with it the ecclesiastical immunity of their property. I did so, notwithstanding my advanced age¹⁰ and the painful infirmities that I suffer, since both these causes are so important a part of my responsibility and obligation. I came to this city on the twelfth day of the past month, May, and with my secretary went to a house on the river where the said very reverend archbishop was residing. After a short conversation, I begged him to be pleased to

¹⁰ He was almost seventy years old, according to Concepción (*Hist. de Philipinas*, viii, p. 229).

listen peaceably to an act of which I had come, as delegate of his Holiness, to notify him. I told him that this business should not be conducted *more castrorum* [*i.e.*, in hostile manner], but that we should listen to each other, and each should state his rights. He agreed to this, and my secretary read the said act, which contains three points. In the first, I declared the said very reverend archbishop to be disobedient, rebellious, and contumacious, considering that he had not obeyed as he should the said my compulsory act, sent to him from the city of Nueva Caceres; likewise, I declared that he had incurred the penalty of suspension from the priestly office *latæ sententiæ*, under which I had commanded him to order his secretary within twenty-four hours to surrender the acts for which I had asked, or to make an authentic copy of them. And because he had exercised the said priestly office on Holy Thursday, consecrating the sacred oils; and on Holy Saturday, in conferring the higher orders of the ministry;¹¹ and likewise on other days, in saying mass while he was under suspension: I declared that he was under censure as irregular. In the second part of the said act, I again commanded him, under penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, and of a fine of two thousand pesos to be applied according to law, to order his secretary within six days to deliver up the papers as aforesaid, or make an authentic copy of them. And in the third part, under penalty of being considered rebellious and contumacious, in order to

¹¹ In the Latin Church the ecclesiastical orders are those of bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and *ostiarii*, or doorkeepers. Many theologians reckon the number at seven, regarding the episcopate as merely the extension of the priesthood (Addis and Arnold, p. 621).

place him under greater obligation, I prohibited to him in the interim the cognizance of this cause and legal proceeding therein. After the said very reverend archbishop had heard the act, he appealed from it, in writing, and on the following day brought this appeal into court. I did not on this account defer the declaration of the said censures, since the appeal was frivolous and useless; and I yielded in the matter of the copy of the documents only for the reason that he alleged, that the originals of these were in the Audiencia. After he had interposed the said appeal, he immediately ordered his secretary to notify me of an act by himself, in which he commanded me, under penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, and a fine of 4,000 pesos, to depart instantly and without delay from this archdiocese, to go to reside in my own bishopric, and not to meddle with his jurisdiction. To this I replied that I had received this notification, and asked him to give me a copy of the said document, solely for the purpose of showing in what consisted his illegal and unwarranted act; and I took leave of him and returned to my house. On the following day, the thirteenth of the said month of May, the said very reverend archbishop sent his secretary to notify me of another act, in which also he again commanded me, under penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, and of another 4,000 pesos, to depart within two days from the archdiocese. To this I replied that I had come [to Manila] on account of the appeal [made to me]; that I was a delegate of your Holiness, and moreover superior to the said very reverend archbishop, and as such I did not listen to his acts or censures. On the next day, the fourteenth

of the said month of May, he sent to me notification of another act; and as I refused to listen to it, for the same reason as before, about two o'clock in the afternoon he posted on the doors of the churches, and in other public places, notices in which he declared me, to the great scandal of all this community, to be publicly excommunicated.

On the said thirteenth day of May, in the morning, immediately after I had been notified of the second act of the said very reverend archbishop, I sent my secretary to his house on the river to notify him of another act of mine, in which I commanded him, under penalty of major excommunication and another 2,000 pesos, to withdraw within twenty-four hours the said edicts which on the twentieth and twenty-first days of March he had ordered posted and published against my apostolic authority as delegate; and, besides, to withdraw the two acts in which, with the said penalties of major excommunication and 8,000 pesos, he had commanded me to depart from the archdiocese. The said my secretary was told by the servants that he was not at home; and I, as this seemed to me only an excuse, and not the truth, went in person to the said house. They told me that he had, that very morning, gone back to Manila. I came to the city after him, and remained at his house, waiting for him, until twelve o'clock; and seeing that he had not come by that time (although he came in afterward), I went away, leaving a message for him, that he might expect me in the afternoon. I returned a little before sunset, but did not find him at home this time. My secretary began to read the said act in the main room of the archbishop's house; but such disorderly yelling

and clamorous talk was raised by his servants that my secretary could not make himself heard. I therefore determined to wait for him, and finally he came – making loud complaints that I was injuring the respect and observance due to his house, person, and dignity. I replied that his illustrious Lordship had showed greater incivilities to me; and that he could and ought to do [what I had done], if I had gone about all day, avoiding him [*huyendo el cuerpo*]. In conclusion, we agreed that my secretary should go again, alone, to notify him of the act; but, when he went to the house, his illustrious Lordship refused to give him entrance. As I was now weary of so much artfulness and craft, unworthy of such a station and dignity, I put aside this act, and despatched another of like tenor. In this, I summoned him, from that hour, under penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, and its publication, to withdraw within half an hour the said two acts and two edicts. Notification of this act was made by a Dominican religious, my notary, in the archbishop's hall, in the presence of many persons, because the said very reverend archbishop had refused to listen to it. When the said half-hour had expired, a little while after this was told to me I declared and posted him also as publicly excommunicated. On the fifteenth of the said month of May, I ordered that he be notified, and he was notified in his archiepiscopal hall, of another act, in which I repeated the command contained in the preceding one – and, still more, that he should take down the notices posted against me, under penalty of a general interdict throughout his archiepiscopal diocese, *latæ sententiæ*, giving him a limit of twenty-four hours'

time; and, in case of his opposition and contumacy, I would proceed to the cessation of all divine worship. But, as I reflected that it was very near the feast of Corpus Christi, and that all the religious orders of this city and a great number of secular priests, who were on my side, would not take part in the said festival and in the procession, in order not to have communication *in sacris* with the said very reverend archbishop; and on account of the commiseration which I felt for this commonwealth; and finally, because the governor and captain-general of these islands, and some of the auditors of this royal Audiencia interfered in the matter, with the stipulations which I will send with the acts: I absolved the said very reverend archbishop from the excommunication and suspension which he had incurred; and he did the same, without my consent, absolving me from his excommunication. I dispensed him from the censure that he had incurred as irregular, and, finally, I suspended the declaration of the interdict. The whole matter was then left as it was, for the time being, until information of all could be given to your Holiness, in order that you may take suitable measures in this case. These are as follows: That the archbishop (or the cabildo, *sede vacante*) who at the time shall officiate and rule in this archbishopric of Manila shall not hinder, restrain, or limit the delegate of your Holiness; that, likewise, he who shall be at the time delegate shall, in cases of appeal to be taken from the said archbishopric, have the free use and exercise of his apostolic authority as delegate in this archiepiscopal territory; and that he shall not need, in order to enter the said territory or to perform judicial acts in it, whether in person or

through intermediate persons appointed by him, any license, consent, or approbation from the said archbishop or from the cabildo, *sede vacante*. [These things should be done] in order that thus the like controversies may be avoided in the future. And I entreat your Holiness to be pleased and to deign to command that consideration be given to a legal opinion by the reverend father master Fray Juan de Paz, of the Order of Preachers, which I send with this; for it may be of service for the point at issue, and for your rights. I also inform your Holiness that from the day when the said very reverend archbishop set foot in these islands – that is, from last September to the present time – this entire commonwealth has been a perplexing labyrinth of contentions and acts of violence which he has performed against the holy religious orders of these islands. For his disposition and nature is very hasty, quarrelsome, and bold; and he is, finally, a man who does not care for or defend the ecclesiastical immunity – as appears from the authentic copy of the acts which I send. May God our Lord grant him better judgment; and may He guard and prosper your Holiness, as I entreat in my sacrifices and prayers, and as the universal Church has need. Manila, June 2 of the year 1698.

[ANDRES GONZALEZ, of the Order of Preachers].

[This letter is followed by the following memorandum, apparently notes by Ventura del Arco of other letters found in the Jesuit papers in the Academia Real de la Historia:]

On the fourth day of June in the same year of 1698 the bishop of Nueva Caceres, Don Fray Andres

Gonzalez, addressed to the king an explanation similar to the preceding one which is addressed to his Holiness. On the eleventh of June in the same year, he sent to his Holiness another account, in the same form; and on the twenty-first of June of the same year he wrote another to his Holiness, and another to the king.

The provincials of St. Dominic and St. Augustine, and those of the Jesuits and Recollects in Manila drew up [to send] to his Majesty the king a statement, dated June 25, 1698, complaining of the defenseless condition in which they found themselves against the proceedings of the archbishop, who neither heeded nor allowed their appeal; and they requested that the Council examine the documents which they sent for that purpose, relating to various suits against their religious orders—which continued or were renewed, in spite of the agreement made with the delegate of his Holiness, the bishop of Camarines. For this purpose they sent a copy of the documents.

[On pp. 207, 208 of the same volume is the following abstract:] In a letter dated June 9, 1700, the Jesuit Luis de Morales wrote from Manila to Father Antonio Jaramillo, procurator-general at Madrid, that in the year 1698 the bishop of Troya and Auditor Don Juan de Sierra died, on the voyage from Manila to Acapulco. The governor not only showed little favor to the missions in the Marianas Islands, but in the year 98 he did not send a patache there with succor; in 99 he sent the vessel late, and it was driven by storms first to China and then to Manila, with damage to its cargo; and he had ordered that the ship from Acapulco should not touch

at those islands. The governor had claimed that the conciliar seminary¹² should be placed next to the college of San Jose, to which the superior of the Society had answered that there was no room for it. All the provincials [of the religious orders] had been commanded to present to the archbishop all their bulls and privileges for granting dispensation in case of impediments to marriage, for the purpose in case of impediments to marriage, for the purpose of ascertaining whether these were perpetual or temporary; they presented the documents extrajudicially. It seems that the viceroy of Mexico, Conde Montezuma,¹³ had undertaken that the regulars who were going to Filipinas should first take an oath of obedience to the bishops, [when the said regulars should act as curas] in the Indian villages; in which case, he [*i.e.*, Morales] said, it was preferable to abandon the missions. The bishop of Cebu, Don Fray Miguel Bayot,¹⁴ had commanded that no

¹² Spanish, *seminario conciliar*; "the house assigned for the education of the young men who devote themselves to the ecclesiastical career" (Barcia).

¹³ José Sarmiento Valladares, Conde de Montezuma, was the successor, in the viceroyalty of Nueva España, of Gaspar de la Cerda, Conde de Galve (whose term of office was November 20, 1688 to May, 1696). Valladares obtained his title by his marriage with Gerónima María, a lineal descendant of the Mexican emperor, and third countess of Montezuma. He took possession of the office on December 18, 1696, and held it until November 4, 1701. He was an able and efficient governor, and did much to repress crime, improve social conditions, aid the Indians in times of distress, and render the City of Mexico more strongly fortified. (Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii, pp. 222, 259, 264, 265.)

¹⁴ Miguel Bayót was a discalced Franciscan, an Aragonese, who came to the Philippines in 1669; he was employed in ministries to the Indians, and was long at the head of the hospice of the order in Mexico City. In 1695 he was appointed bishop of Cebú, when he was 52 years old, being then in Mexico, and took possession of his office in September, 1696; he died there on August 28, 1700. When he died, only the sum of five reals was found in his possession. (San Antonio, *Chronicas*, i, p. 212.)

layman should possess a slave girl eleven years old or upward; and that if such slave were not liberated he declared her free – in regard to which some persons had complained [to the] *alcalde*.

*Preamble of the decree*¹⁵ *which it has been commanded to place in the books of San Pedro Tunasan.*

In the village of San Juan de Calamba in the province of Bay, on the sixteenth day of the month of November in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-eight: I, Licentiate Don Francisco Sanctos de Oliveros, secretary in matters [*secretario del Gobierno y gracia*] of this archbishopric, and a *racionero* of the holy metropolitan church of Manila, in obedience to the decree of his most illustrious Lordship below mentioned, do certify and attest that his most illustrious Lordship, having come to make the visitation of this district of Tabuco, issued the decree of the following tenor:

Decree: In the village of Calambo in the province of Bay, on the sixteenth day of the month of November in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-eight, the most illustrious lord Doctor Don Diego Camacho y Avila, archbishop of Manila and metropolitan of these Philippinas Islands, and ruler of the suffragan bishopric of Nueva Segovia, now vacant, and member of the Council of his royal Majesty and my master, having come here in conformity

¹⁵ The first page of this MS. is occupied by official attestations showing that on January 22, 1699, officially certified copies of these decrees by the archbishop were demanded by Antonio de Borja, procurator-general of the Jesuit province, from one of the *alcaldes* of Manila, Antonio Basarte, who ordered these copies to be made.

to the regulations of the holy [Church] councils (and especially of the holy general Council of Trent), and for the enforcement thereof, to visit this district of Tabuco and the places connected with it (which are the two villages of San Pedro Tunasan), and its churches, ministers, and parishioners, has observed in them a great deal of ignorance of the Christian doctrine, even of the doctrines most essential for salvation – through the agency of Licentiate Don Juan Melendez, a priest whom his most illustrious Lordship the archbishop, my master, has brought with him as his assistant for the sole purpose of giving examinations and instruction in the Tagalog language (in which the said licentiate is very expert) to the Indians of both sexes, to the old people as well as to the children, of the villages and districts through which his most illustrious Lordship will be passing. This duty he has performed and fulfilled in the presence of a great many people, assembled in the above-mentioned churches of San Pedro Tunasan and Biñan. After the questions which he has asked regarding the principal mysteries of the faith, and the explanation which he has made of each separately – some in the morning, and some in the afternoon, according to the opportunity afforded him by the time – he has preached to them, and continues to preach, exhorting them to the love of the virtues and to horror for sins. He also gives to all individual instruction, and an accurate knowledge of the mysteries of the holy sacrifice of mass, and of the virtues and graces which it communicates, as also of those which are required in order to resist the temptations of the devil; and how to secure, with great ease and confidence, the divine aid, by fulfill-

ing and observing the precepts of the Decalogue, and the ordinances of our holy Mother Church in the holy sacrament of confirmation, which his most illustrious Lordship has solemnly conferred and is conferring. Therefore he said that he must command, and he did command, the master Licentiate Don Manuel de Leon, cura in his own right of the village of Tabuco; and his coadjutor Bachelor Nicolas Godiño, who administers the holy sacraments in the village of Biñan; and Father Miguel de Salas, a religious of the Society of Jesus, who likewise administers the holy sacraments in the village and estate of San Pedro Tunasan, which is part of the territory and a visita of the cura of the said village of Tabuco; and the curas and ministers who shall hereafter officiate in the said villages, and in that of Sancto Thomas (which is being administered *ad interim* by the said master Licentiate Don Manuel de Leon): that on all the prescribed feast-days – especially on Sundays, on which all the parishioners assemble in their churches to hear the holy sacrifice of mass – they shall question the people, and explain to them the Christian doctrine, conformably and pursuant to the Tagalog catechism which is accepted and approved in this archbishopric; and that in no form or manner, and for no cause or pretext, shall they omit this on any of the above-mentioned days, especially Sundays. They shall make the explanations of the Christian doctrine to their parishioners before saying mass (which all must hear) – not employing the fiscal or any other person for the performance of this duty, but doing it themselves – explaining certain mysteries of the faith on some Sundays, and others at other times; in everything

accommodating their speech to the limited capacity of their parishioners, in order that these may be more readily instructed, and sooner become capable of receiving all the mysteries of our holy faith.

Moreover, considering the great abuses which his most illustrious Lordship has known from actual observation, and of which he has been informed with all certitude and proof, and the still worse losses, both temporal and spiritual, which have resulted to the persons of the unhappy Indians, with very great injury to their consciences and almost certain peril to the salvation of their souls, his most illustrious Lordship must command, and he did command, that the above-mentioned persons who are now the curas and ministers of the said villages, and those who shall officiate in them hereafter, shall not oblige their parishioners, for any cause or pretext, either personally or by any agent, to offer them anything for the administration of the holy sacrament of penance, especially throughout the season of Lent, in which the Indians ordinarily make their confessions in order to comply with the precept of the Church. And the said persons who now are, or shall hereafter be, curas of the said districts shall observe and fulfil all the above commands, under penalty of major excommunication, *latæ sententiæ, ipso facto incurrenda*, and of legal proceedings against their persons and goods with the fullest rigor of justice, in future visitations.

And his most illustrious Lordship, employing his pastoral kindness and clemency, and desiring to secure the salvation of his flock and the service of God our Lord, and the greater honor and glory of His Divine Majesty, granted and did grant forty days of

indulgence to all the parishioners of the said villages; who, with devotion and desire to profit thereby, attend the explanation of the Christian doctrine in their parish churches. And in order that this may be made known to all the people, his most illustrious Lordship commanded and did command that the above persons who now are, and those who hereafter shall be, curas of the said districts shall make publication of the grant of the said forty days of indulgence, on every Sunday of the month, before or after the explanation of the Christian doctrine, always making known to their parishioners the great riches and strength contained therein, so that they may obtain and enjoy the indulgence with profitable results—in regard to which his most illustrious Lordship lays strict charge upon their consciences.

And considering that the visitas of the villages of San Pedro Tunasan and Biñan pertain to the cura of the said village of Tabuco, his most illustrious Lordship commanded and did command that the master Licentiate Don Manuel de Leon, proprietary cura of that village, cause this decree to be observed by his coadjutor, Bachelor Nicolas Godiño, in the said church and village of Biñan; and by Father Miguel de Salas, the present minister of the village of San Pedro Tunasan—sending each a copy, signed with his name, of this decree by his illustrious Lordship, which will be left, certified and authorized, in the book of burials, baptisms, and marriages of the said village of Tabuco. This being done, the said ministers, Bachelor Nicolas Godiño and Father Miguel de Salas, will also make in the books in their charge a certified copy of the decree—which is to be sent immediately, with autograph signature copied

at the foot of the letter – so that it may be made known to all persons who hereafter shall be ministers and curas of the said districts, San Pedro Tunasan, Biñan, and Sancto Thomas. And by this decree, accordingly, the above is ordained and commanded, and it is signed by his most illustrious Lordship the archbishop, my master, as I attest.

DIEGO, archbishop of Manila.

Before me:

FRANCISCO SANCTOS DE OLIVEROS, secretary.

The above, a copy from the original decree issued by his most illustrious Lordship the archbishop, my master, which is one of the acts of the visitation of the village of Tabuco – which are in my charge, and to which I refer – is a faithful, accurate, and truthful copy, corrected and compared. The witnesses to the copying, correction, and comparison were Licentiate Don Diego Martin de la Sierra and Bachelor Ignacio Gregorio Manasay, a cleric in minor orders; and this document is signed in this village of Calamba, on the said day and month and year. In attestation of its correctness, I sign it:

FRANCISCO SANCTOS DE OLIVEROS, secretary.
LICENTiate DON MANUEL DE LEON

[Another decree, dated December 7, 1698, concerns the curacy of Balayan, with its visitas the village of Nazugbu and the ranch of Lian; the curate there was Bachelor Don Juan de Llamas, with proprietary appointment. After a preamble like that of the former decree, this one continues thus, relative to the registers of the parish:]

He declared that he must command, and he did command, that the practice be continued, as hitherto,

of the separation and division [of the records] in three different books: one for recording the baptisms and confirmations only, another for the marriages and nuptial benedictions,¹⁶ and a third for the deaths; and that in no case should these be recorded in one book only; and that in the book of baptisms the names of the parents and the sponsors of the person baptized must always be set down, and whether he were a legitimate child; and note must be made of a child of unknown parents, or of the Church.¹⁷ At the same time, they must never fail to set down in the margin the names of those who are baptized, and of the villages to which they belong, so that it may be easier to search for and find them. In no case shall men be allowed to stand as sponsors [*saquen de pila*] for women, or women for men, on account of the grave difficulties which have been ex-

¹⁶ Spanish, *casamientos y velaciones*; the former the general term for marriages, the latter also used thus, but referring especially to the nuptial mass or nuptial benedictions (which, however, were and are given only at mass). The parties might be married outside of mass—as if it were a private marriage, or if they were too poor to pay for the mass—and then did not receive the benedictions. But if at mass, they were *velados*—a term recalling an ancient ceremony when both parties were veiled at the marriage; i.e., the priest threw a veil over their heads. Thus Moroni in his *Diccionario*, who also states that “this custom is still in vogue in some places” (in his own day, about thirty years ago). *La velacion* was another term for the marriage ceremony at mass, and was part of the ceremony. Every woman (of good standing) is entitled to church marriage—with nuptial mass and benediction—but once only: this may be on the occasion of a second or third marriage, provided the former marriages were outside of mass; but if the first marriage were with the nuptial mass, she is barred from enjoying this privilege at subsequent marriages. These are the *casamientos*; the nuptial mass, or marriage accompanied by it, the *velacion*.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

¹⁷ *Hijo de la Iglesia*; a term applied to a foundling or abandoned infant; cf., the Italian appellation, “a child of the Madonna.”

perienced from this cause, especially among Indians. Moreover, in the records of weddings and burials must be set down the fees of the minister, so that in future visits it may be easy to compute the eighths¹⁸ which belong to the churches, in consideration of having a new tariff to which their fees must conform. With this, in the said records must be noted in the margin the names of both deceased and married persons; and in every instance it must be explained whether the deceased person received the sacraments at the hour of death, and, if he did not receive them, the reasons therefor. Likewise, in the records of marriages not only must the names of the contracting parties be set down, and those of their parents, and those of their former consorts, if the parties are widowed; but also those of the witnesses who made affidavits in the investigations which always ought to precede a marriage—whether these be verbal, in the case of ordinary Indians; or in writing, when practice [in that art] enables this to be done. Thus, if at any time [a legal] impediment should remain, those persons can be found and punished as perjurers. Also it must be specified whether the three publications of the banns¹⁹ preceded, which the law ordains.

Moreover, in the ministries of this province of

¹⁸ Spanish, *octavas*. None of the standard dictionaries give a meaning to cover this use of *octavas*. Dominguez's *Diccionario* (Supplement) states that the word is a term in Roman law, designating an ancient form of tribute consisting of one part in eight. Probably it was carried over into ecclesiastical law, and here means that the cura was expected to pay one-eighth of his fees into the church fund.

¹⁹ Spanish, *canonicas monitoriales*. In law books, banns (in Latin) are styled *proclamationes monitoriæ*.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

Balayan his most illustrious Lordship has found another abuse introduced therein, that the curas and ministers of the Indian villages are accustomed to keep, for baptisms and burials, two crosses assigned for this use—one of wood, and the other of silver. The wooden one they take out for common baptisms and burials, and those of poor persons; and that of silver for the baptisms and burials of the rich—as if both crosses ought not to have the same value, veneration, and efficacy for the object to which they are directed; or as if the silver cross, on account of being of richer material, ought to be esteemed more highly than that of wood, on which died Christ our Redeemer (a thing which is disgraceful to be said or thought among Christians). Therefore his most illustrious Lordship, mindful of uprooting thoroughly this almost superstitious abuse, commanded and did command the persons who now are, or who shall hereafter be, curas in all the districts of this archbishopric that in no case and on no pretext shall they practice such a distinction; nor are they allowed to require or ask any fee on account of carrying the silver cross, whether at baptisms or burials: under penalty of major excommunication, *latae sententiæ, ipso facto incurrenda*; and at any time when information is lodged of violation of this decree, proceedings will be instituted against the disobedient person with the fullest rigor of justice, without any excuse being allowed to shield him.

[Here follow the same commands and penalties as in the preceding decree, relative to the proper instruction of the people in Christian doctrine, and the prohibition of fees to the cura for the administration of the sacrament of penance. The decree continues:]

Moreover, inasmuch as it is commanded, by a general decree of visitation, now obeyed and practiced by all the secular curas of this archbishopric, in fulfilment of a royal decree by his Majesty (whom may God keep), that the viaticum shall be carried to sick Indians in their own houses, and that they shall on no account be carried from their houses to the churches to receive it: therefore his most illustrious Lordship commanded and did command that the said decree shall be observed, fulfilled, and executed in this curacy of Balayan, and in its visita of Nazugbu and Lian. And, for its proper fulfilment, it is commanded that a reliquary be made of silver or gold, in order that when on any occasion there shall not be mode or form of the customary external pomp, the viaticum may be carried therein, as is commanded, to the sick; and warning is given that, on receiving notice of any violation of this decree, proceedings will be instituted against the disobedient person against whom there shall be legal cause.

All the above, contained and expressed in the present decree, his most illustrious Lordship commanded, and did command, must be observed, fulfilled, and executed by Bachelor Don Juan de Llamas, proprietary cura of this district of Balayan, and he must cause it to be observed, fulfilled, and executed by him who shall in the said cura's place administer the holy sacraments in the villages of Nazugbu and Lian; and of his punctual obedience the said curate shall notify his most illustrious Lordship, at the first opportunity that shall occur, so that, in case what is here commanded shall not be duly and effectually carried out, his most illustrious Lordship may decide and ordain what may be expedient.

Moreover, notwithstanding his most illustrious

Lordship has been informed of the exterior adornment of the church of the said villages of Nazugbu and Lian, yet, inasmuch as the books of receipts and expenses of the said church have not been shown, and are not clear, his most illustrious Lordship therefore commanded and did command that in that church shall be kept a book, in the first half of which shall be set down the following, beginning at the first page, with all the items clear, separate, and distinct, and with mention of the day, month, and year: the eighths of the fees for marriages and burials which shall be received from this time forward; and the legacies, and donations for pious works, which are made to the said church. Then, beginning at the middle of the book, must be set down in the second half of it, with the same details, the expenditures which shall be made for the church, in order that thus no confusion may arise, and that the accounts may be promptly settled in the future visit. By this act, therefore, his most illustrious Lordship decreed and commanded the above, and signed this paper, which I certify.

DIEGO, archbishop of Manila.

Before me:

FRANCISCO SANCTOS DE OLIVEROS, secretary.

[Here follow certificates, written in the registers of burials and marriages respectively, that they have been duly inspected, and referring to the decree itself, which is written in the register of baptisms.]

Tariff

We, Doctor Don Diego Camacho y Avila, by the grace of God and of the holy Apostolic See, metropolitan archbishop of these Philippinas Islands, and

ruler of the suffragan bishopric of Nueva Segovia, now vacant, and member of the Council of his royal Majesty: Desiring to fulfil the obligations of our ministry and pastoral office, and that by the government which is in our charge, especially in the administration of the holy sacraments, God our Lord may be followed and the faithful edified; and that every one of our curas and ministers who instruct the natives – not only in this city, but those of the other parishes outside its walls – and their sacristans, shall observe the integrity which is fitting in demanding the fees which shall belong to them on account of the functions of their ministries and offices, relieving their consciences as we do ours; and having examined the tariffs which our predecessors have fixed, and seeing the condition of these islands, we have decided to issue anew our mandate regarding the said statutes and tariffs; and we ordain that from this time forth, in demanding the said fees, the following order shall be observed:

Baptisms: For the baptisms the cura shall demand the candle or candles which those who can give them may furnish, not obliging them to pay a fee [*capillo*], or to give an offering of money or other things; but, if they voluntarily give any free offering,²⁰ the cura is authorized to take it.

²⁰ Spanish, *limosna*. The fees (*derechos*) of the cura were determined, fixed sums, as in the tariff lists, nor could he change them. The *limosna* – a free offering, and wholly optional with the parties for whom he officiated – was over and above the tariff charge. The cura could do with this offering what he wished – if he chose, spending it in alms; but it was given to him personally, and was for his own use. Cf. the *gratificación voluntaria* in the following list of fees to be paid the parish priest in Cuba, taken from the *Manual de la Isla de Cuba*, by José García y Arboleya (2nd ed., Havana, 1859), pp. 316, 317:

Marriages: For publishing the banns, the fiscal shall ask for each one real, and he may not demand anything because the parties do not rise to their feet at the time when the banns are published. As for the natives and Morenos²¹ who marry without receiving the nuptial benedictions, and shall come to the church or to the cura's house, he shall not ask anything from them; but if the cura shall go, or send, or give permission for the marriage to be sol-

For baptism: a voluntary offering [<i>gratificación voluntaria</i>], the minimum of which is 6 reals for the cura	
and 2 for the acolyte	\$ 1.
For burial: of free adult	7.50
of free child	6.50
of slave adult	5.50
of slave child	5.
For prayers – <i>responso</i> with cope, sacristan, and processional cross [<i>cruz alta</i>], at the house of the deceased	7.
For prayers, with cope, at the burial	4.
For office (of three lections)	5.
For mass chanted (body present)	6.
For each halt [<i>posa</i>]	12.50
For processional cross at the grave (without cross, .50)	2.
For each censer50
For each attendant in surplice	1.
For remaining till end [of interment]	1.50
For four [church] bells [toll]	2.
“ three “ “ “	1.50
“ two “ “ “	1.
For low mass [without chant]	1.
For a <i>fiesta</i> [feast-day celebration] with vespers and mass chanted	12.
For a <i>fiesta</i> with procession	14.
For votive mass chanted	6.50
For marriage	7.25
For cura at the house [of the parties]	4.
For foreigners	25. to 30.
For record of baptism	1.

– REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

²¹ The term *Morenos*, as has appeared from former documents, was applied generally to persons of swarthy complexion – mulattoes, some negroes, and Malabar natives, indiscriminately.

emnized at their own homes, or in some other place, he shall ask three tostones for the effort and time spent in going to marry them in a place to which he is not obliged to go. If the cura shall go to their house, or to some other place where he is not under obligation to go, in order to marry any Japanese or Sangle, he shall ask two pesos, and, if it shall be outside of the parish, he shall ask three pesos.

Nuptial benedictions: He [*i.e.*, the cura] shall ask thirteen reals from the dowry;²² but if the parties are poor, they may commute this for four reals – and [the same] if the woman is a widow and has no dowry, provided she received the nuptial benedictions from the Church in the first marriage; but if she did not [thus] receive them, and have a dowry [she shall pay thirteen]. If several persons receive the benedictions at one mass, the cura shall ask from those who are blessed a peso from every one of them; and he shall be under obligation to say as many masses as there were persons blessed, during the following days, for their intention, because this [obligation to say mass] for two, or three, or more mar-

²² Spanish, *arraz* (arras); a very old term, of Hebrew origin; hence the Latin law term of *arrha*, *i.e.*, anticipated payment of part. *Arras* also means "thirteen pieces of money given to the bride by the bridegroom;" this or similar dowry was required by a very old and very rigorous law.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

Barcia gives *arras* the general meaning of "that which is given as a pledge or token of any agreement. It was extended also to the marriage contract. Also, the thirteen pieces of money which in weddings serve for the formality of that function, passing from the hands of the bridegroom to those of the bride. In law, the amount which the man promises to the woman on account of his marriage to her; it cannot exceed, according to law, the tenth part of his possessions." He defines *arrha* (French, *arrhes*) as "a pledge or token given to secure and confirm a contract."

ried pairs who receive the benedictions cannot be fulfilled by one mass.

Burials: For burials of children, with prayers read, when the cura goes to the house for this purpose he shall ask one peso and four tomins; but if the corpse is carried to the door of the church he shall ask only one peso. For every burial of children with prayers chanted, when the cura goes to the house for this purpose he shall ask only three pesos; and if the corpse be received with prayers chanted at the door of the church²⁸—whether it be an Indian chief, a timagua, a Sangley, a Japanese, or a free negro, whom his friends desire to be interred with pomp and escort—and the cura shall go for the corpse to the house, he shall ask ten pesos; but if he shall receive it at the door of the church, and prayers be chanted, he shall ask two pesos. For every burial accompanied with prayers, of an Indian chief, a timagua, a Sangley, a Japanese, or a free negro, if the cura goes for it to the house he shall ask one peso and four tomins; and if he receives it at the door of the church he shall ask one peso. If the deceased were a slave to Spaniards, the cura shall ask one peso for his fee, and exactly six reals as a voluntary offering [*limosna*] for a mass; but if he were a slave to an Indian, the cura shall ask six reals as a fee, and four reals for the said offering. We charge it upon the consciences of the curas to say these masses for the slaves, and thus acquit our own conscience. For the cope which the cura may

²⁸ The context would seem to require here the amount of the fee for burial of a child; this has apparently been omitted in the MS. by a clerical error. The general appearance of the MS., and various memoranda on the back, suggest the probability that this was one of the copies furnished to the Jesuit Borja.

wear at burials he may receive one peso as an offering; but he shall not wear the cope when the parties do not ask for it. And for the halts²⁴ the cura, if he shall have chanted the prayers, shall ask a toston for each one, if the relatives of the deceased ask for them; but in no other way shall he obtain these fees. *Item*, for the mass sung on the day of the funeral, or funeral honors with responses, the cura may ask two and one-half pesos; and for chanting the office for the dead, two pesos and two reals. And for the novenary masses²⁵ which are said, with a response in each one, on account of the burial of the deceased, the cura may receive for each one a peso as offering; and the wax candles which remain at the end of the novenary for the burial belong to the cura. For masses provided for by will [*missas de testamento*], the cura may receive six reals each, and for those which are ordered to be said outside of the testamentary provision four reals each, as offerings. The curas must not consent to accept the candles that are carried by the persons who accompany the funeral, unless these persons leave the candles of their own accord, and present them as an offering; and if they do not thus give them up, the curas shall not ask anything from them. To each one of those who may assist the cura at any burial shall be given, if he is in holy orders, six reals and a candle; if he is not yet

²⁴ Spanish, *posas*. At funerals, prayers were read at different points on the way to the cemetery; for instance, at the church door, midway on the route, and at the cemetery gate—if not oftener. Of course the procession halted while prayers were being read or chanted; so for each halt (*posa*) a fee was due.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

²⁵ Spanish, *missas de nouenario*; the novenary is a nine days' condolence for the deceased. The same term is also applied to a nine days' devotion offered to some saint.

ordained, four reals and a candle. For any peal of the bells [*repique*] at the burials of children, or the tolling of the passing bell [*doble*], the cura shall ask four reals for the eighths [*de octava*], for the sacristy or the church.

Fees of the sacristans: For aiding at nuptial masses and the benediction,²⁶ the sacristan shall ask for each two reals. The sacristan may ask for carrying the processional cross with its veil,²⁷ for any burial, ten reals; and if afterward solemn mass be sung, he shall ask eighteen reals for the burial, and a peso for assisting at the mass; and if the cross be placed on the grave on the day of the funeral, he shall ask a peso. For the small cross carried, without its casing, and made of silver, he shall ask six reals; and for the ordinary cross of wood he shall ask two; and, if the deceased were the slave of an Indian, he shall ask one real. For burning incense at the funerals, when the parties ask for it, the sacristan shall ask two reals; and at the solemn masses

²⁶ Spanish, *el velo*; literally, the "veil," or the "veiling;" evidently referring to the old-time usage of placing a veil over the married pair (see note 16, *ante*), as a part of the ceremonies at the nuptial mass. I am told by one of our fathers here at Villanova, who lived in Spain years ago, that at marriages in that country the bride wears the usual wedding-veil, and continues to wear it in public for one week after the marriage; it is white, sometimes plain, sometimes adorned with ribbons or flowers of various colors. — REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

²⁷ Spanish, *cruz alta con su manga*. The processional cross was carried on a staff, as used in the United States in processions; at funerals the crucifix was covered with black, this funeral trapping (*manga*) covering or veiling the cross as a sign of grief. Sometimes the sacristan bore only a small cross, without staff; this depended wholly on his fee. In all Catholic churches in the United States, we use the crucifixes covered in Holy Week; but we do not veil crosses at funerals. — REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

he shall ask another two reals. For assisting at each anniversary mass founded in this church, which the cura says, the sacristan shall ask one peso. The sacristan is under obligation to assist the cura in the administration of the holy sacraments, and in the other matters pertaining to the ministry, as being his assistant; and if he fail in rendering such aid he shall ask only the half [of the usual fees], and the other half the cura shall divide between the person who shall assist in the sacristan's place and the church fund for its sacristy. Either the sacristan or in his place some person not yet ordained, is under obligation to carry the cross at burials.

Singers: When the entire choir shall be summoned to any burial, they shall ask ten pesos for attending it; and if all the said choir assist at mass and the office for the dead [*vigilia*], they shall ask another ten pesos. When the [individual] singers shall go on call to any funeral, no more of them shall go than those who are asked for by the parties; and each singer shall ask one real. This is understood when they go not as a full choir, but in a group of three; and they shall not oblige the parties to give them candles, but may take these when the parties choose to give them. If only three singers assist at mass and the office for the dead, they shall ask three pesos for the mass, but not for the office.

We command that all these tariffs and statutes shall be observed and fulfilled to the letter by the said our curas for natives, in this city and in the rest of the parishes that are outside its walls, and by their sacristans, without transgressing them in any way — under penalty of four times the amount involved, incurred for every infraction, and of being punished

in accordance with the law. And no other person, whatever his rank may be, shall dare to transgress these our mandates, under penalty of legal proceedings against him, under the penalties due to those who are disobedient. We command that the curas shall keep these said tariffs displayed and posted in some public place, where they can be read and understood by all persons. And that this may be evident for all time, we command to be issued and we do issue the present, signed with our name, and countersigned by our secretary, as undersigned. In our archiepiscopal palace at Manila, on the fifth day of the month of November in the year one thousand, six hundred and ninety-eight.

DIEGO, archbishop of Manila.

By command of his most illustrious Lordship the archbishop, my master:

FRANCISCO SANCTOS DE OLIVEROS, secretary.

[Here follow several notarial attestations.]

Memorial by the religious orders

The lecturer Fray Jaime Mimbela, of the Order of Preachers, and definitior-general of the province of Santo Rosario; Fray Juan Antonio de San Agustín, an Augustinian Recollect; and Antonio Xaramillo, of the Society of Jesus – procurators-general of their provinces of Filipinas and holding powers of attorney for the holy orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine, the Society of Jesus, and the Recollect Augustinians who live in the said islands for the conversion of the infidels and the maintenance [in the faith] of those who are already converted therein – conforming to the new orders from their provincials which they have received (dated

February 13 of the past year 1699), in regard to what has thus far been alleged and represented, make the following declaration:

[Sire:]

The reverend archbishop, Doctor Don Diego Camacho y Avila, having arrived at Manila in the month of September in the past year of 97, undertook, *in officio officiendo* [*i.e.*, "in fulfilling the functions of his office"], to visit the regulars who exercise the duties of parish priests, desiring that they do so by title of law,²⁸ subject to his jurisdiction. The said holy religious orders, having declined, on repeated occasions, to take upon themselves such a burden, making this known to the said reverend archbishop with all submission, were resolved to abandon all the Indian villages and districts [assigned to them], rather than to administer them in that manner. [They asked him], in order to preserve the tranquillity which had existed in those islands, that at least he would desist from his intention until the pope and your Majesty, being informed of the matter, should decide it: and represented to him that, taking everything into account, irreparable losses of souls would ensue from his persevering in his undertaking if the religious orders, in consequence of his violent acts, should retire [from the curacies] – since there were not secular priests to take the place

²⁸ Spanish, *por titulo de justicia*. *Parroco de justicia*, so frequently used in this document, is the Spanish rendering of the technical Latin phrase, *parochus de jure* – words which show that the cura had a right to his office, had been instituted according to the canons, and was canonically and legally in office. It is practically the same as the English phrase "by right and title." Other equivalents are: "by title of law," "by right," and "ordinary." The parish priest, whether secular or regular, was an official of the Church. – REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

of the religious in preaching and the administration of the sacraments, but it was not possible for the said reverend archbishop to yield to [even] these so serious representations, nor was he willing to wait for the decisions of [even] those so preëminent; on the contrary, he actually began the visitation. When the religious answered that now they were not parish priests, since they had resigned the Indian villages into the hands of their provincials, who had notified your vice-patron of it, the reverend archbishop took away two churches from the orders of St. Dominic and St. Augustine; and soon the commonwealth found itself in a storm, with confusion and affliction such as had never before been experienced in those islands. For within a week fifty religious who had acted as curas had retired to Manila, and orders had been given for the retirement of the others – which they would actually have done, if the courage of the reverend archbishop himself had not been taught by this experience, so costly and unnecessary, the truth of what had been often before represented to him, with so much humility and entreaty, by the religious.

From that time, troubles continued to crowd together until in all those islands the Catholic faith, as concerns God, and the vassalage of the Indians to your Majesty, were at the point of destruction; for in that country all the villages are inhabited by Indians alone, nor is there in them any Spaniard except the religious who is their minister – except here and there a village where resides some secular priest and the *alcaldes-mayor* of the provinces. Thus, the villages without the religious minister remain as dead, for divine worship and for vassalage,

as the body without a soul is dead for vital functions.

This truth being so well known – as also is this other, that in the religious provinces of those islands there have been and are now many religious of distinguished virtues and learning, and very zealous for the salvation of souls – affairs have arrived at such a state, as is known by the said letters of February, 699, that the regulars refuse not only to be ordinaries [*parrocos de justicia*] and subject to the jurisdiction of the reverend archbishop, but also to act in that capacity in the manner which has been hitherto in vogue. They ask your Majesty, with the utmost possible reverence, to be pleased to regard them as exonerated from the responsibility which they hitherto have held of ministering as parish priests to the Indians, and to take measures that other persons may look after the Indians in the manner which the reverend archbishop desires; and that the religious for whom there is no room in the few convents and colleges which the religious orders possess in those islands may return to their own provinces – in accordance with what your Majesty commands, in one of his laws, for the consolation of the distressed religious in those kingdoms.

And since actions so grave in themselves and in their consequences as are these – the refusal of the regulars to be parish priests subject to the jurisdiction of the reverend archbishop, and their renunciation before your Majesty of the assignment of the territories allotted to them for ministrations – appear not to have originated only from disinclination, but to have sprung from [their claim to] liberty alone, their representatives set forth to your Majesty in this

document the reasons and very weighty arguments by which they are constrained to act in both those proceedings. They also offer to present another, more copious, in which will be related in sequence and order all the occurrences and the exceedingly grievous injuries which the religious orders have suffered and still sustain, occasioned by the visitation of the curas. [It will also recount] the lands that they possess; the tithes²⁹ that the reverend archbishop has established; the testimonies and appeals that he has denied; the arrests that he has attempted; the banishments that he has urged [upon the Audiencia]; the very sharp reprimand that on account of him was given by your Audiencia to all the provincials together, with other religious of high standing, without permitting them to open their lips – and all with a method of procedure so unlike that which the pope, your Majesty, and your supreme Council employ on occasions like these, even in cases when there is certainty of guilt; and finally, the investigations which he makes to obtain information against them which he can use to carry out his purposes, and disturb them at Madrid and Roma, in this imposing [threats of] excommunication on the witnesses in order that everything may remain a secret, and the reputation of the religious orders be left more exposed to attack.

The reasons, then, which influence the religious

²⁹ See account of the allotment of diocesan titles in VOL. I, p. 244, note 188. Baluffi, there cited, adds: "Relative to the two ninths that were given to the king, the first bishop of Mechoacan [*in Mexico*]. Mons. Vasco de Quiroga, when organizing his cathedral [*clergy*] in 1554, speaking of the two shares of the tithes that were given to the king, remarked that they were thus awarded to his most serene Majesty in token of his lordship (*superioritalis*) and right of patronage."

not to be parish priests by title in Filipinas, subject to the jurisdiction of the reverend archbishop, are the following: First, because it is unquestionable, and cannot be in any way denied, that the office of parish priest, even with such exemption from [the jurisdiction of] the ordinary, is entirely accessory, and, besides, a heavy additional burden, to the religious estate – not only to that of monks, but even to that of the mendicant regulars; for, in order that they may minister in the said office, it has been necessary to obtain a pontifical dispensation or arrangement, which is founded on important reasons. And this [is a fact], if we consider only what the religious state demands of its followers, as is made plain by the general exemption and the teaching of holy men. If this mode of administering [the curacies] be changed, and the regular who is a parish priest must remain, in what concerns that office, under the jurisdiction of the ordinary, subject to his correction and visitation, and in the other matters subject to the superior of his religious order, it would be a change and condition of affairs so remarkable that, in regard to his estate and his profession of life, the religious would change his nature – for he would be like one cleft in twain, if subject in some cases to one superior and in others to another, the two of differing ecclesiastical rank; and the consequences would be perilous, as will be considered later. In view, then, of a change which would so seriously affect their estate, all the regulars of Filipinas declare that, just as one's state of life is chosen so as to lead to salvation only when it is chosen through the influence and vocation of God, who calls and inclines one to it, and that one's choice goes astray when it is

made through other motives: so, when after choice has been made of the state and profession of life some other circumstance arises which not only oppresses that state, but changes its very nature – with new responsibilities, new obligations, new superiors, and new modes of government full of dangers and difficulties – and, above all, the rule which he professes, no one can safely add to his mode of life a condition so unusual, if God do not incline and call him to it. The religious of Filipinas declare that they have no such vocation or inclination for being parish priests by title, subject to the ordinary; and that without it they cannot expose themselves to so many dangers, with evident risk of being ruined thereby. They say that neither when they entered the religious life nor when they made their confession did they read among the obligations to which they submitted that of being parish priests, and much less that of being such by title, and subject to the ordinaries; on the other hand, they understood that the Apostolic See had exempted them from it. They assert also that on going from Europa to the Filipinas they knew that the regulars never had ministered to the Indians, nor were they then doing so, as being dependent upon the ordinaries, but with pontifical jurisdiction, remaining in all matters subject to the visitation and correction of their provincials; therefore they must necessarily censure and refuse now this new administration and attempted subjection, which they did not profess and to which God did not call them.

Nor do the precedents [brought forward] from America militate against this argument, when it is said that there is but one and the same rule, and

one and the same form of government, in essentials, for the religious order or orders whose sons find themselves in America and in Filipinas; for those who are in those islands say, with all esteem and reverence, that there are some things more suitable to be admired than imitated, and that, while they admire the courage [of those in America], they confess that they do not possess courage to imitate them in this matter. They add that, if in America and Filipinas a religious order is one and the same, likewise throughout the world the faith and the church of Jesus Christ is one and the same; and nevertheless, if a Catholic, simply because he had chosen an estate of life, should exhort all others to embrace the same, it would not be judicious counsel, or in conformity to the spirit of God; for that Spirit inspires, influences, and calls whomsoever He will, choosing some for an occupation, and dissuading others from that same employ. And thus it is evident, likewise, that in the one religious order some have a vocation for going from Europa to the Indias, and others have not. Then why cannot the same occur in regard to being or not being parish priests subject to the ordinary?

The reverend archbishop of Manila himself has given and still gives to the religious orders of Filipinas a very striking and conclusive example in this regard: for before he left España he knew very well in what way the regulars acted as curas in those islands, but he neither renounced the archbishopric in España, nor gave up going to the islands. He knew also that the being united as a spouse to the church of Manila is not an accessory matter, but is wholly essential to the state of being its archbishop;

and that other prelates have gone thither without attempting what he claims. Nevertheless, he has asked in the royal Audiencia permission to return to España; and now he writes resigning the archbishopric, and asking that he may be allowed to come here to live and die in retreat in a cell. If it is because the religious who are parish priests are not subject to his jurisdiction that he offers this resignation – by which he abandons all that belongs to his position, and the state of life that he chose – how much greater reason the religious will have to imitate him, since even when they give up the curacies they remain wholly in the estate of religious which they professed. If he makes this renunciation in order to avoid controversies, and aspires to live and die in a cell, much more natural is this desire of the religious to live and die peacefully therein, without obliging themselves to endure those controversies; for they do not accept under compulsion a new estate to which God does not call them. Likewise, [they decline] if, in order to adopt such a model of life, their rule must be the pleasure of the archbishop, and not the inspiration of God.

As little is this first argument overcome by [the assertion] that the civil law provides that the regular who is a parish priest is immediately subject, in what pertains to that office, to the visitation and correction of the ordinary. For, laying aside the fact that such a law can be abrogated by the supreme pontiff – as actually was done by Pius V after the holy Council of Trent, and afterward confirmed by Urban VIII; and this very procedure is supported by various declarations of the most eminent cardinals – when there is a lack of secular priests (as is

the case in Filipinas, where for eight hundred parishes, the approximate number of those in existence, there are hardly sixty seculars in number, and still fewer who have abilities for giving instruction and learning languages): laying all this aside, the religious assert that the civil law which commands such subjection must be understood in the case that the religious who are administering curacies, without being subordinate to the ordinary, desire to continue thus, being parish priests; but it does not order that they be compelled by violence and force to enter that relation. And if a secular cleric, to whom with canonical and rigorous institution is given a perpetual curacy, can, notwithstanding this, renounce such curacy, nor on that account be disqualified by the law as long as he lives in immediate subjection to one superior only, who is his bishop: how or for what reason can the reverend archbishop of Manila claim that the religious cannot peaceably make the same renunciation, in order to avoid the risk of having so many superiors? As the religious hold the Indian villages not as proprietaries, but removable *ad nutum*, other persons could, for no better reason than their own wishes, deprive the religious of those ministries, even though the latter live therein with the sanctity of their holy founders; and is it possible that, when only the will of another person is sufficient to prevent them from being curas, the divine inspiration and their own self-reproach will not be sufficient for them?

The second reason that the religious in Filipinas have for refusing to be parish priests by title, subject to the ordinary, is that no exact idea of this virtue of justice has been formed in considering the method

in which efforts have been made to constrain the religious by it. For either they are or they are not capable of being really parish priests, like the secular clerics. If they are, they do not accept the parish under any obligation of justice; and even when this is conferred on them with canonical institution, they nevertheless do not remain ordinaries, as are the secular clerics; for in the latter, in order to secure a proprietary benefice, the only points considered are the ability to serve as cura, the obligation of law [*justicia*] to which they submit, and the canonical collation with which they are inducted into the parish. Including all this in the said supposition, the religious cannot well understand why, after all that, they do not remain proprietary parish priests. As little do they understand how the said ability, obligation of law, and canonical institution can make a secular priest a perpetual cura – so that if his conduct does not render him unworthy the curacy cannot be taken from him, either by ordinary or vice-patron alone, or by both together; while a religious who enters the curacy with the same formalities is not competent for the same perpetuity, but only for such tenure, even in his own territory, that even if he conduct himself as a saint the ordinary and vice-patron can, if agreed, deprive him of his benefice and give it to another; that is, even after that obligation and solemnity he is a parish priest removable *ad nutum*.

The religious also consider that although the virtue of justice is one for all, and alike for all, and the efficacy of canonical institution is also one for persons who are qualified for the same office, to the secular cleric with the onerous duty of parish priest

is given all that can favor him; but to the religious, while the entire burden is laid upon him, all his energy is checked on account of not giving him all which can relieve that burden. This is all placed upon the religious, for his responsibility for the feeding of his sheep confines him to a district in such a way that his own provincial cannot, by his own agency alone, change his district without first resorting to the ordinary and the vice-patron, to secure their consent. In this way there is a notable decrease of obedience, and the regular observance of the rule which he professed is greatly disturbed; and many, continual, and insupportable annoyances are heaped upon the provincials. The religious loses in great part the privilege of his exemption; he remains subject, in so far as he is a cura, to investigations, complaints, visitations, and penalties from the ordinary; and with all these burdens he has not the comfort of being secure in his parish, even if his conduct do not render him unworthy of it, because he does not hold it in perpetuity, as the secular does. He is not master of the emoluments which the curacy yields, nor are they in justice due to him as to the secular, unless he pretends that he is dispensed from the essential vow of poverty. Then, if the religious is capable of being a parish priest, and that by title of law, as is the secular, who has given to justice and to canonical collation such efficacy as with them to furnish to the secular what is honorable³⁰ and favorable, yet has so divided it as to impart to the regular what is detestable, while yet denying him what may console him?

³⁰ In text, *oneroso*, but evidently a transcriber's error for *onrrroso*.

[Even] if it be granted that the regular is not competent, on account of his estate, for being a proprietary parish priest, why is it so strictly required of him to enter the curacy with the same formalities and ceremony as those with which the clerics enter? Such incompetency will be the best justification for the repugnance which the religious feel for being curas in the manner which the archbishop insists on.

The third reason is, that if the convents and colleges which the religious maintain in Manila be broken up, it can be said with truth that there are no other houses of religious community [in the colony]; for although there are seven other houses besides – in Cavite, Cebu, Oton, and Yloilo – divided among the religious orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustine, the Society of Jesus, and the Recollects, yet these convents and colleges are so small that in each of them there are only two or three residents. All the rest of the said provinces is composed of Indian villages, [each] served by one minister only; and these are such as can be gathered from their respective bishoprics, the cathedrals of which neither have nor are capable of having dignities, canonries, and other prebends. This being admitted, if the ministers in Indian villages remain subject to the ordinary, as the provinces are composed almost wholly of such ministers alone, and for their removal would then be necessary the agreement of the ordinary and the vice-patron, some provinces would come to be dependent, in the name of religious government and in the exercise of secular government, on the wills of those two persons, to whom the religious did not in their profession promise obedience or subjection.

Then if either of the two, whether the bishop or

the governor, were displeased with any religious order, or with any minister – and especially if it were the governor, whose power in those islands cannot be explained, except by their remoteness – in such case they could on very specious pretexts either maintain or remove the minister against the will of his provincial; and even they could, if necessary, threaten the latter with either censures or banishment, to make that religious order conform to their authority. How fruitful a source this may be of perdition and total ruin for the religious orders, all can recognize; but only those who have had experience in those islands can fully comprehend it.

The fourth reason: for we have already taken for granted their subjection and canonical institution. If a religious who is a minister commit a transgression, and his offense apparently belongs on the one side to morals and life, and on the other to the office of cura, the poor minister remains in the condition of those goods which we call *mostrencos*, on account of their belonging to the first person who takes possession of them – and even in a much worse condition, on account of the controversies which must naturally ensue. For if the provincial begins legal proceedings in the matter, and afterward information of it is given to the reverend archbishop, the latter issues a decree – and, if it be necessary, a censure – commanding the said provincial to revoke all of his proceedings, surrender the case to him, and abandon it; that is to say, the right of judicature belongs to him alone. The provincial appeals to the judge-delegate of his Holiness, who, in order to obtain full information about the case, commands the reverend archbishop, with the threat of censure, to

desist from the cause, and surrender the documents. If the latter do not obey, the affair may reach the point where two ecclesiastical prelates mutually excommunicate each other, and [the colony] is menaced with an interdict and the cessation of divine worship. This is not discussing an imaginary thing, but is relating that which has just occurred in Manila in a like case—where, in order to prevent the regulars from withdrawing from their curacies, [the archbishop] imposed on the provincials the penalties of excommunication and a fine of 2,000 pesos; and conversely, the reverend archbishop and the delegate of his Holiness likewise excommunicated each other. The commonwealth was disquieted by these occurrences, not knowing where these things would end if the interdict which the delegate threatened were carried out, since he was followed by the religious orders; for nearly all the laymen lean on the orders—making their confessions to the religious, receiving instruction from their teaching and example, and with their counsels calming the scruples of their consciences. In consequence, it would necessarily follow that in case of an interdict and cessation of divine services the entire archdiocese would be left in most lamentable condition; and without doubt this would have occurred, if it had not been for the kindly nature of the delegate and the urgent importunities to desist from this purpose that were addressed to him by the religious. For, since at the cost of innumerable martyrdoms and other hardships they had established the faith in those islands, they sought to avert the danger that it would be impaired, even though this should be at the cost of contempt for themselves.

It must be added to all the above that if these contentions and troubles which are suffered in those islands could be promptly ended without going outside of them, toleration in enduring them would be less difficult. But this is not so; but these troubles leave behind them their consequences, and chains that are very long and heavy, which are only fit to drag along those who choose to become slaves to the curacies in Filipinas. For in such cases letters are written by the governor, the archbishop, the Audiencia, and the religious orders to Madrid, and by some of these to Roma also; and terrible controversies take shape, with public scandal in both courts. The parties are in every way exhausted, and the judges are harassed until the [royal] decree in the case is provided: first, because such decree is provided for regions so remote, and after it is issued arrives there [so late], that those evils are throwing out many roots, and these produce anew other discords and evils worse than the first. And since it is a fact that, although according to the divine oracles, it is not fitting either for the bishop to be contentious, or for the minister of souls to preach the gospel in any other way than that of peace, the religious orders, in place of experiencing in Filipinas, as it were, peace with the fruit of tranquillity, do not find this at the present time; but they are burning in a glowing forge, which only throws out sparks of discord and dissension. The religious orders, Sire, had already made peace among themselves, and are at this day maintaining and always will maintain it; for they trust in God that it will be so, and the bitter experience of past years has pointed this out as a great blessing. Thus, when the reverend arch-

bishop arrived here all was quiet and peaceful, but within little more than two months after his arrival there was nothing but unrest and disorder – and this because the religious had told him, with all courtesy and humility, that they would sooner give up the ministries of instruction than hold them in the manner that he desired. Herein, which side proceeded most comformably to reason? the religious who peaceably leave the curacies, in order to avoid disputes; or the reverend archbishop who causes these contentions, and who sends to Madrid and Roma in order to obtain that the regulars shall be by force and violence parish priests subject to his own jurisdiction? In view, then, of disadvantages so serious, what religious is there, devoted to his profession, who will consent to be a parish priest in Filipinas? Who will leave his province in Europa, the retirement and peace of his community, to go, with the perils of two ocean voyages, in search of controversies so wearisome and noisy over a calling which he did not profess? Herein the religious of Filipinas admit that they have taken warning by what has occurred in America, that they ought to learn a lesson from it and be cautious about having another head.

The fifth reason: If a regular who is a parish priest transgresses, and on account of secret faults becomes unworthy of continuing in his ministry, yet if he remains in it his salvation may incur a very special peril. The provincial has secret knowledge of the case. Here justice demands two things: one, the punishment of the fault; the other, that the delinquent shall not be rendered infamous. Charity, (and even justice itself) demands also that the pro-

vincial shall, because of his office, remove his subordinate from that risk. If this regular who acts as parish priest were administering his functions without canonical institution or subjection to the ordinary, as is done in the Filipinas Islands, the provincial could with the greatest ease settle the whole matter, and justice and charity be satisfied, without disgrace to the delinquent and without a stigma on the religious order. But when the regular who is a parish priest is subject to the ordinary, the provincial cannot remove him by his own authority alone; and it is necessary for him to resort to that very ordinary and to the vice-patron, and that the two agree on the removal of the offender. And, in such case, what has the provincial to say to them? If it be answered that by keeping the case entirely secret the provincial becomes a sharer in the guilt of his subordinate, he and the superiors of the religious orders declare, with all submission and humility, that they refuse to put in practice such a form of theology. Can the ordinary acting alone, can the governor, the father, and the master, each alone, punish and correct the fault – of a priest, of a citizen or a soldier, of children, of servants – without the least injury to the culprit's honor; and a provincial, who can in innumerable ways do the same with any subordinate of his, be obliged to leave the offender in disgrace with the heads of the community, ecclesiastical and secular? The religious orders would sooner remove [from the islands], to transplant themselves to Europa, than submit to so heavy a burden.

If it be said that the provincial need not state the offense, but in general terms assert only that he has cause for removing the cura, even that would not

avoid the difficulty: First, because the authorities may think that the provincial says so, in order to carry a point for a custom of long standing. Second, even though the cause for removing him is not a fault, it will be readily said [that it was one]; and if the person himself does not make further explanation, in such case the result will be that the fault will be made public by his silence. And finally, one's honor is a very delicate thing, and is usually much injured by rumors and suspicions alone. And since God renders the religious exempt from the secular judges, and the Apostolic See from the ordinaries, the regulars represent that, as they have not professed to be curas, they do not feel courage to fill that office with so many risks and burdens.

The sixth reason: The object for which the religious are in the curacies is the salvation of souls; and there is no room for doubt that for such a purpose the religious will be all the more fit and competent an instrument the more he shall unite with the office of cura the regular observance. This greater union, it is certain, lies in the method of being curas which has hitherto prevailed, and not in that which the archbishop is attempting; for with subjection to him the cura does not depend so much on the regular superior, nor can the latter freely command him as before, and thus the obedience [of the religious] is greatly diminished and injured, without which no one deserves the name of religious. [Also the observance of] poverty is at great risk; for since the cura ministers through the obligation of justice and canonical institution, and this is not given to him by the religious order but by the ordinary, some of the curas might argue that since the order permits this

to them, it also permits them to be masters, in whole or in part, of all the emoluments; and that with entire freedom, without subjection to or permission from their superiors, they can spend or dispose of these revenues as they please. This is a danger which is most prolific of innumerable others, and in all lines. Their chastity also is much less secure, because it is attacked by solitude, by the license which this occasions, by the natural compliance of the Indians, and by that almost perpetual tenure which in many ministries in America is experienced through the obligation of justice and canonical institution under which they are administered; and on account of the difficulty which thus arises in securing removals, sensuality does not find that remedy of flight which St. Paul lays down so prompt and easy as it would be if the parish priest depended only on his provincial.

And, finally, the religious do not, by assuming the habit as such, strip themselves of the passions of men. There might be one or more for whom the subjection and mode of life in a religious community becomes wearisome; and such men, knowing that a cura cannot be removed from the mission parish without the agreement of the ordinary and the vicepatron, undertake to gain the good-will of those authorities by letters and other means, and for the same object to win the friendship of officials and dependents, so that these may exert influence in order to preserve them in the curacies. And thus gradually they become rooted in their liking for a life that is solitary and independent, and will reach a state in which they give up the mission parish with grief, because they hold it through love for the con-

veniences of life, and more as very secular men of the world than as religious or as ministers to souls. In that case the religious orders could say that they had lost fervent sons, and the ordinaries that they had not made zealous curates.

All this is avoided when the regulars serve as parish priests in the same manner as they do now in the Filipinas; for they are wholly dependent on their superiors, and cannot dispose of anything without their permission. If it be expedient for them to go to some other place, there is no difficulty in changing their residence; and as they have not that security of perpetual tenure, their only care is for their ministries, the door being closed to unworthy measures and claims. Hence it follows that this mode of holding curacies is more in accordance with the three vows and the other statutes that aim at the perfection that is proper for the regulars, and consequently at the salvation of the souls³¹ for whom they care.

The seventh and last reason—omitting others, either because they are included in those already mentioned, or because they may readily be deduced from those—is supported by authority. Let the histories of the Indias be read, and the laymen and ecclesiastics who have written about them; all agree in raising very serious doubts whether the regulars should be parish priests or not, and much more whether they should be so with title. [These writers] noted many decisions, in which entire provinces—composed of religious who were influential,

³¹ In the text, *proximos*, “neighbors”—in allusion to the Scriptural injunction, “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,” a duty strictly inculcated in the training of candidates for ordination, especially in the Jesuit order.

experienced, learned, and zealous – resolved in their chapter-meetings that the mission curacies should be given up; many [opinions by] generals of those same orders, who approved that proceeding; and others, by various distinguished men, who expostulated against the acceptance of such an encumbrance by their religious order. [They have also noted] faults which they contemplated with tears – interminable discords, which banished all tranquillity and peace; and innumerable other damages, which, even the secular writers on the Indias admit, have made the regulars tremble.

If he who sees from [a safe place on] land a fierce hurricane on the sea, and that in it are wrecked galleons of great size – some of the men on board being drowned, others crying for help, and those who by swimming have emerged on the shore taking warning [from this misfortune], and causing great fear in those who hear them – trembles at [the thought of] venturing upon the sea: what marvel is it that the regulars of Filipinas, who have not thus far been inducted into this new form of parish tenure which the archbishop is attempting [to establish], seeing as if from the solid land so much tempest and shipwreck which are occasioned by that form, and which the histories, like accurate charts, place before them, tremble, and refuse to embark on that sea? When the witnesses are so truthful, and the experiences so injurious, it would be a mistake of the utmost importance not to believe them, or to expect that [in] trouble one may remedy it by regret, or not to avoid it beforehand by prudent measures.

With these reasons, three arguments of which the reverend archbishop entertains a high opinion lose

their force. One is, to argue [thus] in this dilemma: Either the regulars who are parish priests conduct themselves well and fulfil their obligations as such, or they do not. If this last, it is not right that it be permitted, nor that there be any failure to reform with the visitation which he is trying to enforce. If in all respects they fulfil their obligations, what matters it if he visits them, approves their proceedings, and praises them in his report to the king? And with this mode of argument he casts suspicion on the regulars, as if they had faults or failings as parish priests to conceal.

Answer is made, first: that the religious who are curas conduct themselves well in their ministries, and strive, so far as their powers extend, for the salvation of their parishioners; and that what holds them back from being parish priests subject to the reverend archbishop is not the fear caused by [the question of] behavior, but dread of the inconveniences and dangers above recounted, which it is not easy to explain.

Answer is made, second: that in Manila and Cavite – which is distant two leguas from this city, and where only the secular priests are curas – the reverend archbishop has precedents very effectual for ascertaining the consequences of the way in which the religious behave in their curacies. For in those two places, where they have no obligations as curas, they are the ones who carry the burden of the day and of the summer's heat; they alone (or almost alone) are the ones who administer throughout the year the sacraments of penance and communion – to Spaniards, Indians (Tagálogs, Pampangos, and Visayans), mestizos, Cafres, and other peoples who re-

sort thither; they alone keep laborers set aside for this task; they alone preach frequently. It is they who carry on missions; they who dispense the divine word and explain the Christian doctrine in the guard-rooms of the soldiers and [among those stationed] at the gates of the city; they to whom the slaves from the foundry resort; [they who minister to] the prisoners in the jail, and the poor in the hospitals, and the seminaries of La Misericordia and Sancta Potenciana. It is they who in their churches have separate sermons for the Spaniards, for negroes, and for Indians; it is they who are almost continually going forth, by day and by night, to the sick and the dying, whatever the weather may be. Then who can imagine that where the religious, without being curas, have the inclination and zeal to aid the secular curas and the reverend archbishop themselves, relieving so greatly the burden of their obligations, they will neglect their duties in the villages, where the souls have been entrusted to their care alone?

Answer is made, third: that just as the reverend archbishop by his arguments strives at Madrid and Roma to subject the regulars to his visitation in what concerns them as parish priests, he may also plan to subject them in all that concerns morals and life. "For if they behave ill, it is not right to permit such conduct; and if their conduct is exemplary, what matter is it if he visits them, and approves them, in order to report on them with praises?" The reply which the reverend archbishop will make to this argument can with more reason be applied as the reply and solution to his own. The religious orders add that, even though the praises of the reverend

archbishop are and always will be worthy of the utmost appreciation, yet they set a much greater value on following the counsel of the apostle about each man abiding in his own calling³² – which was not to be curas – than to be curas and obtain those praises with the risk of the troubles that have been considered.

Nor is it right, by the same mode of argument as that of the reverend archbishop, that the religious orders should not further make evident the importance of their justice and of their labors. This prelate greatly resented that the reverend bishop, the delegate and judge of his Holiness for cases of appeals, should go to Manila and exercise his functions, issuing various acts; and the said reverend archbishop also took steps to have the delegate depart immediately from his archbishopric, and said (and wrote to Europa) that the religious orders were trying to keep the delegate there as their judge-conservator. It is here where his own argument presses: either the procedure of the reverend archbishop was just, or it was not. If it were just, what did it matter that he had before him a judge with authority from the pope, and must deliver to this judge the documents which he demanded, so that as a judge so superior he might confirm them, and make a report on them with commendations? If the archbishop's conduct were not just, as little just was it that he should go beyond his obligation, in order to obstruct rightful jurisdiction.

The reverend archbishop also refused to the religious orders all the copies of documents and the attested statements which they asked from him in re-

³² Alluding to Paul's precept in I Corinthians, vii, v. 20.

gard to the visitation which he planned and began, but from which he desisted. If what the reverend archbishop did and decreed was just, what mattered it that he should command the said copies and statements to be given to parties so eminent and worthy of respect as were five religious provinces? If it were not just, why were these decrees made and executed?

Another argument of which the reverend archbishop avails himself is, to say that if the regulars who are parish priests do not submit to his visitation and jurisdiction, he will finally be a [mere] bishop *de anillo*.³³ Answer is made, first, that even if this were the case (which, however, it is not), the reverend archbishop would not have any reason to complain in this particular, as, according to the law, no wrong is done to him who, before entering on any negotiation, acquaints himself with it and determines it beforehand.³⁴ For while he was yet in España he knew that the regulars in Filipinas were not parish priests by title, nor subject as such to the ordinary; and if with this knowledge he decided to go to Manila in order to be its metropolitan archbishop he ought to take for granted what has been proved by experience, and not wonder that the regulars, convinced by so effective arguments, are, constrained by these, giving up the native curacies, in order not

³³ That is, a non-resident or merely titular prelate; see VOL. XVIII, p. 339, note 101.

³⁴ The whole sentence, divested of technicalities, simply means that one must "look before he leaps;" or that, when one has his eyes open, he is supposed to have used them; or that the bishop, should he be merely titular, would have no one to blame but himself, and should be the last to complain.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

to be ministers of instruction at so much risk. Nor will any one grant that reason countenances the reverend archbishop more in trying to secure the extension of his authority than it does the religious in maintaining themselves as much as possible in what they had professed.

Answer is made, second: that, not by commission but by his own proper jurisdiction, the reverend archbishop can administer confirmations throughout his archbishopric; act as judge of all matrimonial cases among the Indians, and those affecting the rest of his flock, in the same manner and the same cases as he could if secular priests were the curas over them; and ordain priests and consecrate oils—with many other things. The exemption of the regulars does not hinder these, nor can a bishop who is only titular exercise these functions merely through his own choice; and thus the reverend archbishop does not come to be such a prelate.

And, finally, according to Christian maxims the religious ought to measure the choice of a new form of life, not by the question whether the reverend archbishop has or has not more or less under his jurisdiction, but by other and loftier principles, which concern salvation and the means [to attain it], which they have already chosen, by rule and vows, in order to attain with these that final end. And the religious of Filipinas declare that if his Reverence the archbishop refuses to live [in those islands] and be their prelate, because he has not all the authority that he desires, they refuse the said form of [serving as] parish priests, in order to avoid the controversies and perils here stated, so as to live in the quiet of their profession and by means of it to secure more peaceably their eternal salvation.

If the reverend archbishop shall urge the precedents of some religious orders in America in regard to the said matter, the religious orders of Filipinas state further, besides what is said above, that those who gave up the mission villages in America furnish a more effective example than do those who remained in those posts subject to the ordinary. They also add that for this case more to the purpose are the precedents of all the reverend archbishops and bishops of Filipinas—of no one of whom it is known, it should be said, that he was an archbishop or bishop *de anillo*. Many of them were entirely satisfied at seeing the good work that was wrought in their flocks by the religious orders, and thanked them and greatly honored them; and even though some few of them desired what the present reverend archbishop is attempting to secure, yet on hearing the arguments of the regulars the prelates contented themselves with informing the Council—without that body changing the former mode, or the prelates breaking forth in violence as has been seen in this present time. Then, even if the reverend archbishop is somewhat influenced by precedents of certain religious orders in America, it seems as if he ought to be convinced by those of his predecessors and the others who were suffragan bishops in those islands.

The third argument is, that as the regulars who are parish priests are not under his jurisdiction, he cannot feed his sheep as it behooves him to do, or give account of them to God, with due certainty; accordingly he claims that the regulars of Filipinas should be compelled not to leave their flocks, and should be forced under his jurisdiction. Answer is made, first, that the reverend archbishop can, when-

ever it shall please him, apply himself to an inspection of the Indian villages, even those that are furthest from Manila, and view the aspect of his flock—who will be greatly edified to see that an archbishop undergoes the inconveniences of small boats, and traverses dangerous tracts of sea and land, for their spiritual good, as the provincials do. Then if he will have taken the trouble to learn some languages, as the religious have done, in order to dispense to them the divine word, to hear their confessions, give them communion, and the sacrament of confirmation, and the rest that they require: then he can obtain information about the religious and the spiritual state of the villages, give such commands to the Indians as he shall please, and confer with the ministers on all that concerns the salvation of souls; and not only can he, but he has the right to do so. It cannot be doubted that this would be a rich nourishment [to his flock], and that these actions of an archbishop are compatible with his not having jurisdiction over the regulars; and it would be a great pity if all this, which is so proper for a prelate, should fail simply because the regular in his curacy remains with the exemption which the Apostolic See has granted to him.

In view of these actions which he can perform, the reverend archbishop will attach less importance to his not visiting judicially the regular who is a parish priest because the latter remains outside of his jurisdiction; but it may well be believed that the regular keeps the sacrament, the holy oils, and the baptismal font in decent condition; that there are registers of baptisms, burials, and marriages; that the Christian doctrine is explained to all the people together, and

to the children separately, as also to the larger boys and girls, and all at different times; that not only in times of sickness and of danger of death, but in health and safety, the sacraments are administered to those who ask for them; and that other things are done which are proper for the ministers who are curas. These functions, as they have a public interest in themselves for the whole village, are known throughout it; and even if any detail should be neglected, the reverend archbishop may well believe that neither the provincial nor the other responsible officials of the provinces who are designated to watch, make decisions, punish, or reward, for the general good, will wish to be censured for it.

The reverend archbishop does not doubt that in the church of God the holy religious orders form a very numerous assembly, and that their sons, every one, are the sheep of the supreme shepherd, the pope, who has exempted them from the [jurisdiction of the] ordinaries, unburdening his own conscience, and trusting to the vigilance of the generals, and other superiors—to whom, as to the guardians of souls, he has handed over those of the individuals [who form] the rest [of the order]. It has not occurred to any one that on account of this exemption the popes cannot feed the universal flock, or appear with safety before the tribunal of God; and experience has shown the extraordinary benefits which have resulted from it to the church and to the religious orders themselves. Why, then, where the vicars of Christ are secure, will not an archbishop be so too?

On account of merely the expectation of a great harvest in the Indies many popes conferred on the

regulars the authority to be parish priests, with complete independence from the ordinaries, rendering null and void whatever the latter might do in opposition to this privilege. No one has said that by this the supreme pontiffs placed the ordinaries in danger of rendering their accounts to God unsatisfactorily, or hindered them from feeding and edifying their flocks; and the result itself has given testimony, with the great success of the propagation of the gospel, how successful has been that method of having the regulars as curas, seeing that the hope of a harvest has now grown to be its actual possession, and realms so extensive have been conquered. And therefore the reverend archbishop of Manila might have had confidence in commands so sovereign – especially in that of Pius V, whose brief is now in full force in Filipinas, as on the first day when it was issued; and even the motive therefor, since there is so great a deficiency of secular priests that, if the regulars should be lacking, the faith would perish in islands so widespread, and the people would be as much heathens and idolaters as before.

Answer is made, second: that the generals, the provincials, and the main body of the provinces say the same in regard to the religious who have professed their rule, that the latter are sheep also of the flocks that God has placed in their charge, so long as the government remains in their hands; and whatever care and attention the reverend archbishop of Manila may give to his sheep the Indians, the regular prelates will give to their subordinates in regard to the same account which they will have to render for these to God.

But with a very important difference: for the In-

dians who are not converted are under the most serious obligations to join the assembly of those who are already converted, and for this object can be forced to hear the divine word; and those who have heard and believed it [can be obliged] not to forsake what they believed, or depart from the bosom of the Church, for it is not possible to be saved in any other manner. And when for the attainment of two objects so great as these there are no secular priests, and there are only religious, who have attained those ends and are still doing so while they are exempt curas, it would seem to be also the greatest obligation of the ordinary to reconcile himself with such curas, in order not to deprive the Church or defraud the blood of Christ of so much fruit.

The religious cannot be forced in the manner which has been stated to be curas subject to the ordinary, for besides the estate of the Christian they have already professed that of the religious order; and therein, without this force and violence, it is quite compatible that the religious should be thoroughly subject and obedient to their orders, and under their visitation and correction, and at the same time as parish priests through charity only, as temporary curas [*interinos*], and as assistants and coadjutors of the ordinaries, may render them great service, minister to the Indians, attract others who are infidels who thus may receive ministrations, and approve themselves to all – just as if they were parish priests by title, without the risks and difficulties that have been considered.

For the reverend archbishop, then, to ask now – when without any force all this great and well-known benefit to the church in Filipinas may be re-

stored – that the religious be threatened and compelled not to leave those islands, and accept in them another and new calling, so full of peril, and that other religious shall go thither from Europa to the same life – and all in order that he may have greater authority – this is a great deal to ask, and is not at all in his favor before the tribunal of God. Who shall give account to His Divine Majesty of the spiritual detriment that must ensue to fifty parishes, abandoned for [even] a week – without mass, without instruction, and without sacraments for little ones and adults, for the sick and the dying? Over and over, before the affair reached this point, the religious set forth all these injurious effects, and protested against them to the reverend archbishop; and that they were not under obligation [to do this], to the peril and [even] ruin of their own souls, and that of their profession, [which was] to attend to the souls of others. Nevertheless, the reverend archbishop pursued his undertaking, and the religious retired [from their curacies]; the former was done merely to have [his own] will, the latter through necessity based on all that has been stated. Whose part, then, will it be to render account of such a result, and to fear to do so? It is certain that, according to the apostle, power and jurisdiction is not for destruction but for edification.

The reverend archbishop is not ignorant of the necessity for baptism; nevertheless, no adult can be forced to receive it. The profession of a religious is null, if any notable force intervened to bring it about; and marriage is of no validity if a person wholly free were in like manner compelled to marry. For these estates demand liberty, and, no less, inspiration from

God; and there is nothing of this where there is only force and violence, for then the estate which was to be a means for salvation is converted by such compulsion into a snare and destruction. For one who is not a parish priest by title to become one is a change of no less importance than for a bachelor to marry, or a layman to become a religious; and for the reverend archbishop to claim that, where others are free, the religious should be forced into a mode of life full of risk, and for an object which can be secured without that compulsion, is to extend his claims further than perhaps he is aware, and to accumulate more material for the account that he so greatly fears. For one thing, [his idea] that, even supposing that the regulars are willing to be curas, they can be forced into subjection, and this would be more tolerable; and, for another, that if they do not choose, for all the reasons here stated, to be curas, ecclesiastical and secular authorities may use violence to make them enter the office of curas by title – and this is very far from what Holy Writ, the general councils, and the holy fathers teach, upon which there is ample material for volumes.

The religious orders are greatly surprised that the reverend archbishop, occupied with zealous cares for feeding his sheep, and by holy fear regarding his account to God, should break out with acts of violence against the religious only – and not do so in order that secular priests should go from Europa or from Nueva España to be parish priests in Filipinas; and that his Majesty may give to the said seculars, for their travels and voyages, the aid that he grants for the same purpose to the religious. If they should constrain the reverend archbishop to

state why he does not ask or seek this for the seculars, the world would know what the religious orders have accomplished and merited in the Filipinas, and what they are still doing; and it would also know that, although in the words of Christ the laborer is worthy of wages and recompense, in place of any new remuneration to the said religious orders the reverend archbishop is attempting by his claims to introduce them into a labyrinth of entanglements, discords, and dissensions.

Granted, now, the fundamental reasons why the regulars have refused to be parish priests subject to the ordinary, and [preferred] to leave the mission villages rather than serve them in such a manner, the greatest affliction of the religious orders in Filipinas goes further. Their provincials, in the last conference which they held (as they notify us by letters of February in the past year of 699), resolved that these petitioners should, as their attorneys and in the names of them all, offer before your Council of the Indias an absolute renunciation of the allotment of all the territories which your Majesty gave to them in order that they might, with pontifical jurisdiction, serve therein as parish priests.

The religious are influenced to this action, first: because, even though your Majesty command that no change be made in this regard in the Filipinas, the religious orders do not now entertain a substantial hope that entire obedience would be rendered to this law for peace, without which it is intolerable to remain in those islands. The reason for this fear and lack of confidence is, that this very thing was commanded by your Majesty in a decree issued at Madrid, on November 27, 1687 (which is in the

[book of] ordinances, at folios 8 and 9), and the reverend archbishop did the opposite of what was ordained therein, in the sight of your governor and Audiencia. If such was the heed and observance given to a decree for making no change, even when the reverend archbishop was not at variance with the religious orders, what can they expect when he is now so exasperated against them?

This argument gains more force when attention is paid to the immense distance [from España] of those islands, where this is a current saying, or almost a proverb, among those who are in power, "Let them write to Madrid and Roma whatever fairy-tale they please at the time; no one will be disturbed by it while the letters are on the way, or while the decision is being made and until the ordinances arrive." And therefore it results that although the reverend archbishop arrived at Manila in the year 97, it is now the year 700 when the clamors and disturbances which with his arrival were experienced [in the islands] find an echo in your Council of the Indias – troubles which still are endured, because it is necessary to wait a considerable time for the arrival at the islands themselves of your royal provisions. And when the decree already mentioned of the year 87, and another previous one of the same tenor by the queen-mother our sovereign (who is now with God), were not obeyed, there is little or no ground for the religious to hope that other decrees of that sort will be obeyed. In both cases, the mission curacies were resigned, and in this last one much more has been suffered; and as it is not well that these occurrences and disputes be repeated, and as it is intolerable to live

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in controversies for the sake of curacies, to any one who is not wedded to them, the religious orders intend, by the said resignation, to make an end, once for all, of all this contention.

The second reason: In Filipinas today the religious orders see themselves dragged along and reduced to a most abject condition, in which their ministers can, according to the divine oracles and the teaching of holy men, gain little esteem or fruit while they exercise these under so much reproach. If the edict of visitation which the reverend archbishop commanded to be posted in the village of Tondo (a mission village which is in charge of the Order of St. Augustine) be read, among innumerable other questions will be found these: "Whether the minister in charge goes without the ecclesiastical garb, or without suitable clothing? Whether he goes without cutting his beard? Whether by day or by night he carries weapons, or is indecently clothed?"

If attention is given to the manner in which the archbishop took away the two mission villages of Tondo and Binondo [from the orders], it was done by forcibly breaking open the doors of those two churches, and surrounding them with soldiers and secular officials, who carried with them fetters, as if they went to arrest criminals or highwaymen. Similarly, on account of a fit of anger which he felt because two of these petitioners had embarked to come to seek redress from the Council, the reverend archbishop demanded and obtained a vessel, in which both ecclesiastical and secular officials set out to arrest the said religious. But as they could not reach the religious, as the ship had gained so much

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headway, the archbishop summoned the Portuguese captain of another ship, and commanded him, under penalty of major excommunication and a pecuniary fine, to secure the arrest of the said two religious at Batavia; and told him that if it should be necessary, he must demand aid from the governor there, who is a Dutch heretic – although afterward, it is said, the archbishop advised him not to do so.

Consider the manner in which the religious had to apply to his tribunal; in no case would he accept a document save through the hand of the ecclesiastical procurator of his secular court. On one occasion he allowed so short a time-limit that the holy religious orders were forced to go between twelve and one o'clock at night, knocking at the doors of several procurators, because one had excused himself on account of the stormy weather – and all this when there was no need of or risk in delay; and the reverend archbishop thus gave ground for even the laymen to say that he was abusing his authority in order to annoy the religious. And it is no wonder that laymen say this when the reverend archbishop himself writes (as it were, praising himself) that the regulars are almost exhausted and beside themselves at seeing how in so short a time he has, if not conquered them all, at least broken their courage to a great extent. But the religious orders desire for this prelate in the remembrance of posterity more praiseworthy sayings than this one which calls them exhausted by such means.

The reverend archbishop also writes to individuals who can have no voice in these matters, either of justice or government, in such manner that the religious find themselves compared to soldiers on horse-

back, and characterized as disobedient to both pontifical and royal laws; and of so bad lives and morals that, he says, if he had to make informatory reports regarding them there would not be enough paper in all China. If he writes thus to Europa, how will he talk there [in the islands] with his servants, intimate friends, and acquaintances?

Notice should be taken of the reprimand which through the influence of the reverend archbishop was given to the religious orders by your royal court of Manila, composed of four officials who are young men; it is perhaps the most angry and contemptuous which has been offered to religious in a Catholic tribunal. In regard to the decrees which were issued regarding this particular, by the bishop the delegate of his Holiness, it appears that by a royal decree the five provincials, the rectors of the colleges of Santo Tomas and San Jose, and two other religious, all grave persons, were summoned; and, having made them enter the hall, where your ministers were seated on their platforms, Licentiate Don Geronimo Barredo began to speak, as being the senior auditor; he talked to them, using *vos*, and impersonal terms that were very rude, although the royal sovereignty of your Majesty deigns to honor the provincials with the title of "very devout and venerable fathers." He called them disturbers of the peace – as it were, the causes and authors of the disquieted condition of the commonwealth; he blamed them for aiding the reverend bishop the delegate of his Holiness, and for some of their subordinates performing the service of notaries to him. He threatened them, saying that even though they were exempt, yet your ministers could, with the

administrative power which they hold from your Majesty, banish the religious from the islands. When he had ended his censure, he said, "Get out!" [*Despejad*]. The provincial of St. Augustine, with all courtesy and submission, asked from his Highness permission to say a word, but the said Don Geronimo Barredo refused it, repeating the words, "Get out!" Again the provincial urged, with all humility, that they hear him; and the reply of that same auditor was to ring his little bell, saying in a loud voice, "Get out! Get out!" Accordingly they made the religious go away, full of embarrassment, and without any further consolation than that of patience.

Such, Sire, was the civility with which that royal court treated all that assembly of religious, among them superiors so eminent, ignominy being offered to them where they should have encountered the honor which your Majesty, by a special law for the Indias, charges upon your officials and presidents, in order that the religious may thereby be encouraged to labor for the propagation of the faith. In order to stir up the community, a royal Audiencia takes action in appeals in obvious cases of which the Church, by law, disposes. To furnish notaries to a delegate of the pope (which was the same as to furnish them to the supreme pontiff) in those islands—when, as the secular priests were intimidated by the public decrees of the reverend archbishop, there was not one who would aid the delegate—this was an unseemly act of the religious orders, and cause why Catholic officials should reprimand them! And, finally, the hearing which justice does not deny to the worst criminals, was

entirely barred to five holy religious orders, the anger of striplings foaming over on those so venerable gray hairs.

Your governor knew very well the unsuitableness of this action, and, either not liking the matter, or pretending to be ignorant of it, he was not present at that session; and with this sort of connivance the reverend archbishop succeeded with his designs, and the Audiencia with theirs, the religious orders paying for it all. Then if all that is mentioned in this second reason ends in the depreciation and public ridicule of the religious orders, left defenseless and wounded by the heads of the commonwealth, what idea will be formed of them by the Indians, mestizos, mulattoes, Cafres, and even those Spaniards who have little sense? Such people mould their opinion not by what they reason out, but by what they see; and when their eyes record so much contempt for the ministers of religion, the consequence is a low estimate of their teaching. On this account the religious offer their resignation of the mission villages, so that they may with better results care for others.

The third reason: Although the immunity of their property which the religious possess is a sacred thing, the reverend archbishop regards it in such a light, on account of their not having been subjected to his visitation, that they dread in the future greater losses and difficulties. The regulars had applied to the said reverend archbishop to forbid Licentiate Don Juan de Sierra, your auditor, from having judicial cognizance in regard to the lands of the religious orders, and from molesting them about this matter so much as he was doing — without any neces-

sity, as he was merely a lay judge. That prelate issued a first and a second inhibitory letter, and, as the said Don Juan did not conform to them, the regulars again applied to the reverend archbishop to defend them. The latter had already explained his intentions with the religious orders, in order that the religious who were parish priests might allow themselves to be visited; and therefore he stated that, before his issuing the third command regarding their application, the religious orders must first answer whether or not they would submit to the said visitation. They replied, in the most peaceable manner, sometimes verbally, sometimes in writing, that they were resolved to give up the mission curacies rather than serve them in that manner; and they actually offered their resignations of those offices.

So much did the reverend archbishop resent this that the lands belonging to the religious orders, which thus far were privileged, on account of being ecclesiastical property, thereafter were not exempt. Those which on account of their immunity had deserved two inhibitory letters now deserved a decree revoking the said letters, the property remaining lay and profane, and subject to the secular jurisdiction. The religious were in the said decree canonized as rebels, contumacious, disobedient to the Church and to the reverend archbishop, and unworthy of his clemency. In this declaration the reverend archbishop excepted the lands of the nuns of Santa Clara, and those of the colleges of Santo Tomas and San Jose—the former, because they belonged to a convent of the utmost poverty; and the latter on account of the benefit to the public which their teaching caused.

From this it may be inferred, Sire, that the immunity and exemption of property which the religious possess must be, in the apprehension of the reverend archbishop, a quality removable *ad nutum* of his will and pleasure, but not permanent, [as it should be] according to the direction of the Apostolic See. It will follow that while this question is pending whether or not the religious will be parish priests by title, some of those very holdings possess sufficient spirituality of character for [the issue of] two inhibitory letters to the secular judge; and that when the religious refuse this mode of life that spiritual character becomes, by a sudden metamorphosis, profane secularity. It will follow that the crime of rebellion, disobedience to the Church, and ill-desert of kindness is incurred by the religious orders for not assuming a state and profession of life to which God does not call them, simply because the reverend archbishop desires that it be chosen. It will follow that to renounce the curacies is not to recognize the jurisdiction of the reverend archbishop, and accordingly this is not to recognize that of the pope or the authority of your Majesty, since he offers to resign his archbishopric. It will follow that, although your Majesty had made the assignment of the territories which with pontifical jurisdiction the religious administer and have thus far administered, for them to offer before your vicepatron their resignation of the said curacies – solely for the purpose that he who there represents your royal person may be acquainted with the fact of their renunciation of the said assignment – is, in the thought of the reverend archbishop, to grant spiritual jurisdiction to the secular governor, and conse-

quently for the said religious to become heretics in many and important points.

And since the lands of the nuns of Santa Clara retain their immunity and are ranked as spiritual goods, on account of the extreme poverty of those servants of God, does the reverend archbishop regard that only as a physical lack of riches on their part, and no more? or as evangelical poverty which springs from the vow, institute, and profession of the life which they have chosen for Christ, and which the Apostolic See has approved? If the former, the religious frankly state that it is very alien to the ecclesiastical rules, by which the exemption and immunity ought to be measured. Otherwise, innumerable poor people, of those who are commonly called beggars³⁵ through the streets, would secure, on account of being equally destitute of goods with the said nuns of Santa Clara, or perhaps even more so, ecclesiastical exemption from secular judges for their furniture and petty possessions. If the reverend archbishop answers, "the second," the religious also say, with entire confidence: "What authority is that of this prelate, that he should decide in an official utterance that there is evangelical poverty in the convent of Santa Clara, and not in the other mendicant religious orders? and that the lands of the said convent of Santa Clara enjoy exemption on account of their evangelical poverty and religious institute, while it may not be enjoyed for the same reason by the lands of the other religious orders, which are so distinguished, and are approved by the Church?"

³⁵ Spanish, *pordioseros*; that is, those who ask alms "for God's sake."

Lastly, it follows that the instruction in grammar, philosophy, and theology in the colleges of Santo Tomas and San Jose renders their lands spiritual property, and exempts them from the secular judge. Yet the preaching of the word of God, the instruction in Christian doctrine, the administration of the sacraments of penance and communion, the consolation [of the faithful] with the mass, the visiting of the sick and dying, the ministrations in jails and hospitals, in order that no one may die without the sacraments: these and other spiritual works, which the holy religious orders of the city of Manila habitually perform with all classes of people, are not sufficient [in the archbishop's opinion] to exempt their lands from being profane.

If then, Sire, the reverend archbishop has thus conducted himself, in matters so delicate and of the highest importance, simply because the regulars excused themselves from being parish priests subject to his visitation, what may not be feared hereafter? What privileges, exemptions, or decrees will be sufficient, so that he may not explain them as he pleases, and continually open new doors to dissensions? If with such ease he pronounces sentence on the regulars as rebellious, contumacious, and disobedient to the Church, what difficulty will he find in treating them as such—sometimes alone, and sometimes resorting to the royal court for the sake of more forcible demonstrations of his displeasure?

The fourth reason: Your Majesty, in dealing with the religious in your laws of the Indies, has two especial statutes which not only show your desire for peace and your Catholic piety, but most strictly command that efforts be made to secure

union and concord among the religious orders, on account of the many and admirable results which ensue therefrom. This union and concord had been established by all the religious orders of Filipinas, and its fruits applauded, long before the reverend archbishop arrived in Manila; and by it those islands were made a paradise for what pertains to the religious orders. The reverend archbishop was the only one who was not pleased with this concord; and therefore he characterizes it in his letters as a conventicle,³⁶ and of evil tendency and inconsiderate.³⁷ He not only resented it, but displayed and made known his resentment; he tried to disparage it, through a third person; he had the idea, and repeated it many times, that there was a league against himself; and it is for this reason that he secretly obtained information against it, imposing the penalty of excommunication on the witnesses to maintain secrecy. So far can go the desire of commanding and judging the religious, and grief at not accomplishing it.

In so lamentable a condition [are affairs there], when the religious desire not only to see themselves free from the charge of the mission villages, but, if it be possible, away from those islands, and far from a prelate who feels so annoyed at the union and brotherhood of the religious orders—a union dictated by the natural light of reason, prescribed in

³⁶ Spanish, *conciliabulo*; like English "conventicle," used to designate an unauthorized or illegal assembly.

³⁷ Spanish, *mal sonante y temeraria*—literally, "of evil sound and reckless." This is part of a legal phrase, taken from Latin forms used by the Roman courts when characterizing books, teachings, statements, etc., of unorthodox or schismatic bearing.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

their general chapters, inculcated by the generals of the orders as being their supreme heads, ordained by your Majesty, suggested by the vicars of Christ, promulgated in the sacred writings, and bequeathed as in His last will by Christ himself to His disciples; and they without it would not have reaped a harvest in the world, nor would He have retained them as His missionaries. The religious admit that the great horror of this prelate at their concord and union gives them much cause for serious reflection; and that when this concord is so persecuted on account of the mission curacies, there is no safer way to maintain it than to separate themselves from those curacies.

The fifth and last reason: By letters of February in the year 699 it is learned that the reverend archbishop has been sending information not only against the said concord [of the orders], but against even the reverend bishop, the delegate of his Holiness – and all with [the threat of] excommunication in order to maintain secrecy. If a bishop and delegate of the pope is not secure, how will a religious who is a parish priest be so? It seems as if the reverend archbishop now falls back from lands to persons, regarding those holdings as property merely profane, and the religious as persons without any privilege. At the outset he claimed that the regulars, as parish priests, must be subject to his investigations and visitation; and now, extending his claims further, he invents against them, as religious, a new visitation, made up from secret inquiries by dint of censures. How is it possible now not only to have but even to imagine peace in the Filipinas? If the religious orders do not defend themselves, he endan-

gers their reputation in the places where he will send the said information – and all the more if those reports go forth authorized by the secretary and notary who attest the official documents of the archbishop; for the notary, according to popular report, is a relative of his, or passes as such; and the secretary is his cousin-german. And it appears from the acts (on folio 3) that the notary-public, Master Joaquin Ramirez, testified that on November 27 of 697 he had given a paper with a letter from the archbishop to Fray Jose del Rosario, provincial of the Augustinian Recollects – not casually, but delivered into the said provincial's own hands – when the fact is, that this provincial had died four years before, as is well-known in Manila, and as is evident from the registers of deaths in that province, and will also be here. Such were his impetuosity and his mode of procedure, without instructing the notary, or the latter knowing, of whom he was talking, and confounding times and persons, and the living with the dead. And if by such testimonies a man is introduced in the documents as alive, when in reality he was dead, what wonder will it be if, for the greater disparagement of the regulars, the virtues are introduced as dead among them which are alive in them?

But if the religious, invaded in so many ways, look after their defense, how will they be to blame in this? And if, in order to defend themselves, they so dispose matters that they can have recourse and appeal to the delegate, and if the latter ordain something and the reverend archbishop will not conform to it, and on both sides censures are launched forth – as occurred in the case of the lands – who will have

been the mover of all this [trouble]? For the religious to abandon their reputation wholly is not safe; to defend themselves there occasions inconvenience; to let the matter take its course, notwithstanding this behavior of the reverend archbishop, is an intolerable yoke; and for the regulars to be curas subject to him all that is here alleged will not permit. These are the afflictions that are now being suffered in Filipinas. The religious there are summoned to be mocked; those here, aware of what is going on, are reluctant [to take their places]. And since the whole matter takes its rise from the curacies and mission villages, and the foregoing decrees are rendered null, and our expectations from others in the future are dashed: for these reasons and the others here adduced, and insisting upon the said order from the provincials to renounce the mission curacies, the petitioners, prostrate at the royal feet of your Majesty, ask in the name of the said five provinces that you will be pleased to consider them as free and exonerated from the charge which hitherto they have held in serving as parish priests the mission villages that they hold in Filipinas; and for this purpose they renounce absolutely the allotment of territories which your Majesty had committed to them, in order that others may from this time forth administer them, with secure peace and stable tranquillity, which they expect from your Majesty's magnificence.³⁸

³⁸ This memorial seems to have been written by the Dominican Fray Raimundo Berart (see *Reseña biográfica*, ii, p. 203); and it was printed by Fray Mimbela.

Royal decree, May 20, 1700

The King. To my reverend father in Christ, Doctor Don Diego Camacho y Avila, archbishop of the metropolitan church of Manila in the Filipinas Islands, and member of my Council: In letters of January 19 and February 20, 1698, you report your arrival in those islands, and what you are doing to quell the hatred and enmities which exist among your subjects, reclaiming them to a new life by the measures which you are applying, and obtaining the peace and tranquillity which you were desiring. You also wrote that you had undertaken to continue work on the church building there, and had gone to visit the secular clergy, in which you had met no hindrance; and that in endeavoring to make the visitations in the mission churches served by regulars—according to the regulations of the Council of Trent, the apostolic letters, and the royal decrees—you were influencing the religious by gentle methods to accept such visitation, for this purpose drawing up a manifesto, but that these methods were not sufficient to induce them to do so voluntarily. For this reason, in fulfilment of the obligations of your office you had published an edict for carrying out this visitation, and had actually gone to put it into execution in the mission stations of regulars at Tondo, Binondoc, Santa Cruz, Dilao, and Parián, since you were denied diocesan jurisdiction over the ministers who serve in these places—while at the same time, in those of Tondo and Binondoc (which are served by religious of St. Dominic and St. Augustine) those ministers were abandoning their churches, consuming³⁹ the holy sacrament, and carrying away with

³⁹ Spanish, *consumiendo*; “the reception or eating by the priest

them the holy oils and ornaments. Consequently you found it necessary to place secular priests *ad interim* in those villages, from which it resulted that the religious orders went to offer their renunciation of those missions before my governor, without going to you; and in this condition of affairs it seemed best to the Audiencia to furnish aid so that the religious orders should not abandon these missions, and that their renunciation of them should not be accepted. But this was not sufficient to prevent the religious from withdrawing from those missions, for which reason you found yourself compelled to retire to your own church, and to desist from these visitations, removing the temporary ministers whom you had appointed, and lifting the censures and penalties which you had imposed, without prejudice to your dignity and jurisdiction. And finally you recount the very harmful results which must follow from the form and method of administration which prevails in these mission stations, and the illegal acts which are committed by the ministers in charge of them, of which you send a summary, stating how impossible you find it to remedy this condition of affairs, on account of the reasons which you point out, and asking that the necessary measures be taken, and that you be assured of it, so that you can visit as you should that archbishopric, in fulfilment of your ministry as its pastor. This matter has been considered in my Council of the Indies, with the attested copies sent by you of the documents therein, with the representations made in your name and in those of the of the body and blood of Christ, in the elements of bread and wine" (Dominguez).

religious orders who reside in those islands and hold mission posts there. Having fully informed myself on both sides, and given the subject special consideration, I have resolved to approve, and herewith do approve, all that you have accomplished in this affair, and especially your course in having ceased from further action therein until you could report it to me and await the measures which may be applied to the difficulty, assuring you of my full gratitude for your very judicious proceedings and the good management which you have showed in the conduct of this important affair. Your procedure with the superiors of the religious orders is very suitable to your prudence, and quite in accordance with the opinion that I have of your zeal and great discretion; and the special service which you have rendered to me is strongly commended to my remembrance, that I may bear it in mind and favor and honor you on all occasions that shall arise. And in view of the grave considerations that are involved in this matter, and of your request that the regulations and provisions of the sacred canons, councils, and apostolic constitutions, and the laws of the Indias be put into execution, in order that the diocesans may, as you say, visit the regulars who hold office as curas, in matters which pertain to the care of souls, I am undertaking with all the attention of my Catholic and pious zeal to furnish the remedies that are most suitable and effectual for this object, and for preventing any disturbances which may arise in the future, leaving settled and established the right of prescription, both canonical and legal. And as concerns what is contained in the summary which you have drawn up of the illegal acts of the

religious who serve the missions, except in the question of visitation you shall always have authority to receive information, and to demand from the superiors of the orders that they reform and correct the religious. And if when they are admonished the first and the second time they do not thus act, I command that you carry out the said reform with your jurisdiction as ordinary. For the better success of this, I decree, by despatches sent this day to the president and auditors of my royal Audiencia there, that they assist you with their aid on all occasions when you shall demand it and shall need it. Of this you are [herewith] notified, and you shall inform me of your action in this matter, and of any further occurrences. At Aranjuez, May 20 in the year 1700.

I THE KING

By command of the king our sovereign:

DON MANUEL DE APERREGUI

[Six rubrics are added at the foot of this document, which appear to be those of the members of the Council.]

THE AUGUSTINIANS IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1670-94

[The remainder of Diaz's *Conquistas* – comprising the fourth book of that work, as found in pp. 689-817 – is here presented, partly in full translation, partly in synopsis. Numerous extracts have already been made from this book, notably as regards the Pardo controversy and some insurrections among the natives; these will of course be omitted here.]

CHAPTER I

[Diaz mentions the calamitous times experienced in the islands during the rule of most of the governors from Corcuera to Salcedo, which at last are succeeded, in the plan of Providence, by peace and comfort.] The peacemaker [*iris*] whom divine Providence seems to have selected for this general benefit was Governor Don Manuel de León y Sarabia; for his taking possession of his government was the shifting of the scenes in this melancholy theater, the calming of the tempests, and the succession of rest after fatigue, and peace after war. The former lines of commerce were renewed, and other and new ones opened up – such as that of the coast of Malabar and Santo Tomé, called the Coromandel

coast; and those of Suratte, Macán and Batavia. All these improvements were facilitated by the wholesome purposes and the kindly disposition of Don Manuel de León, and especially by his great disinterestedness; this last would, if it had not been accompanied by the rest, have failed of success, as did the lofty and incomparable [disinterestedness] of Don Diego Fajardo, since it was obscured by his coldness and excessive severity – which, although accompanied by justice, was, being excessive, known as injustice.

As soon as the new governor commenced his fortunate rule, he sent to Macán General Don Juan Enrique de Losada, accompanied by Father Francisco Mecinas,⁴⁰ of the Society of Jesus, in order to further the interests of that commerce, and to endeavor to open up the richer trade of Cantón. This was accomplished by the said envoys with so much ability that in the following year the Chinese began to come [to Manila], with barks from Macán and somas from Cantón, with great wealth of silks, damasks, and other stuffs. Trade was opened with Ningpú, a port of the province of Che-Kian in the empire of China, where is cultivated the greater part of the silk which supplies the world, a commod-

⁴⁰ Francisco de Mesina was born in Messina, Sicily, in 1614; at the age of fifteen he became a Jesuit novice, and in 1643 came to the Philippines. He acted as minister at the college of Manila during one year, and then went to Camboja with a Spanish expedition who built a ship there, ministering to the Spaniards, and to the natives of the country. For two years he was rector of Silang, and more than twenty years minister to the Chinese at Santa Cruz, near Manila, becoming very proficient in their language. He was three years provincial, and was sent to Macan and Camboja by the governor "on affairs of the royal service;" and he died at Santa Cruz, October 12, 1682. (Murillo Velarde, *Hist. Philipinas*, fol. 354.)

ity which greatly advanced the commerce of Nueva España. The governor maintained courteous intercourse with Sipuán, the son of Kuesing, and from this originated the frequent visits of so many champans from China and somas (which are larger champans) from Cantón, which every year engage in the commerce with Manila; for in some years are counted thirty barks, and nearly as many from other regions, which supply merchandise to Manila, and contribute to the royal revenues great sums with their customs duties.⁴¹

The flagship "Buen Socorro," which had made the voyage to Nueva España in charge of General Diego de Arévalo, had a fortunate arrival at the islands – although not at the port of Cavite, but at that of Palapag in the province of Leyte, outside of the Embocadero. It brought an auditor, Licentiate Don Fernando Escaño, a native of Écija; he was a great jurisconsult, as is evident from the learned books which he had printed in España – *De testamento imperfecto*, and the history of the Order of St. John of Malta, which he wrote in the Latin language, by order of his most serene Highness Don Juan of Austria, grand prior of Castilla and León. He came with his wife, Doña Leonor de Córdoba, a native of Sevilla, and four [six] children: Don Fernando, who was a captain, and lived but a few years; Don Juan de Escaño, an alférez who reached the age of fifty years, an unmarried man, very virtu-

⁴¹ Spanish, *almojarifazgo*: export and import duties, as our modern officials would call them. This tax was first collected by the Moors in the cities and coasts of Andalucía, and afterward – in the times of St. Fernando, according to various authors – came to be introduced among the Christians; and they, on accepting or establishing this impost, adopted the name by which the Arabs designated it. – FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ (editor of Díaz).

ous, and an example for laymen; Don José and Don Manuel, afterward religious of St. Dominic; Don Alonso, who was an Augustinian religious, and at his death a minister in Pampanga; and a daughter, Doña María, who married the sargento-mayor Don Francisco de Moya y Torres, alguazil-mayor of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The auditor's wife was a professed member of our tertiary order; and all of them were people of great virtue.

With appointment as bishop of Nueva Segovia came the dean of Manila, Master Don José Millán de Poblete, a priest of much virtue and discretion, and nephew of the archbishop Doctor Don Miguel Millán de Poblete, of honored memory. The vigorous age at which this dignity came to him (for he was not yet fifty) did not enable him to enjoy it [long]; for he lived very few years in the government of that church, not long enough to reach his consecration – with general regret in these islands at having lost a grand prelate, heir to the many virtues of his uncle. . . .

Auditor Don Fernando de Escaño began to fill his office with great rectitude and disinterestedness, for he was a learned man, and stood in fear of God, which is the true wisdom. But, influenced by his desires for good, yet lacking in judgment and experience, he proceeded to enter the labyrinth of trying to reform more than what is in need of reform – being counseled by persons who aimed only at gaining by calumny what they could not prove in law. From this he undertook to follow the opinions of Auditor Don Salvador Gómez de Espinosa, of whom we have already written, and to subscribe to his manifestoes, as the *Parenético*; and without fur-

ther investigation than the depositions of persons who were prejudiced against the clergy and the religious orders, he made attacks on them in letters written to his Majesty. Afterward, he recognized that the evidence did not agree with what had been told him; and he came to repentance when the shot was already fired and much damage done thereby. These false notions, and others like them, as well as his considering the little or nothing that can be accomplished in these islands by the ministers of his Majesty, who never goes beyond what the governors desire, wore him out in a few years; and he died as the excellent Christian that he was, and so indifferent to worldly advantages that he had not money enough for his burial, and was buried in our convent at Manila. All his family inherited his virtue, and were the only children of an auditor who came out so well, for all strove to grow in virtue to the standard of their honored father; they were therefore highly esteemed, and their lives came to a holy end. Don Juan de Escaño, who attained the rank of general, was an example of virtue in Manila, and died with the reputation of unbroken chastity [*con opinion de virgen*]; and his property, which was large and justly gained, he left, well invested as it was, for the building and maintenance of the beaterio of Santa Catalina de Sena [*i.e.*, St. Catherine of Sienna], of the tertiary Order of St. Dominic in Manila, in which foundation he had much share and influence.

About this time came to Manila the prince of Siao,⁴² son of the king Don Ventura Pinto de Mo-

⁴² Don Francisco Xavier, in the year 1670 (Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 300).

rales, to ask the governor for religious of the Society of Jesus to instruct the natives of his little kingdom, where there were many Christians – although the majority of that people were infected with the errors of the cursed Mahoma. These islands are in five and one-half degrees of latitude north, and one hundred and forty-nine degrees of longitude from the meridian of Tenerife; the seas about them are difficult of navigation, on account of being in the midst of a large and widespread bank [*placer*] of shoals which lie on all sides. They share the reputation of Maluco, not only for the warlike nature of their inhabitants, but for many spice-bearing trees, of clove and nutmeg; but in other means of support that country is very poor. This prince was received by the governor with much honor; he gave him the use of his own coach, and lodged him at the college of San José, in charge of the religious of the Society; and he took much pains to forward the business of the prince, since it was for so holy a purpose, the propagation of our holy faith. The prince returned to his own country, with the satisfactory result which he could desire; with him went four religious of the Society of Jesus – Father Juan de Miedes,⁴⁸ a native of Alcalá de Henares; Father

⁴⁸ Francisco Miedes was a native of Madrid, born about 1621; he entered the Jesuit order about 1643, and in 1643 came to the islands. During the first year he was an instructor at the college of Manila; the rest of his life was spent in the missions of Ternate and Siao. He compiled grammars and vocabularies of the dialects spoken in those islands, and performed his missionary labors with great self-sacrifice and devotion, suffering much from poverty and lack of the usual comforts of life. The hardships of this career, and his frequent austerities, broke down his strength, and he finally died at Iloilo, on June 21, 1674. (Murillo Velarde, *ut supra*, fol. 352 b, 353.)

Gerónimo Cebreros was born in Mexico on May 30, 1626, and

Jerónimo Cebberos, a native of Acapulco; and Fathers Esquibel⁴⁴ and Español – all well fitted for so holy a ministry. The governor gave him twenty Spaniards and some Pampangos, to serve as an escort for the religious; and for their commander Captain Andrés Serrano – a veteran soldier, who had just finished a term as alcalde-mayor of Panay (a province in our spiritual charge) – as he was a very devout Christian and well suited for that occupation, so much to the service of God.

These religious remained a long time in the islands of Siao, increasing that Christian church; but the enemy of mankind, who resented their driv-

at the age of twenty-three entered the Jesuit novitiate, and four years later came to the islands. He was a missionary in Ternate and Siao, and for six years the superior of those missions; afterward he labored among the Spaniards and Tagals in Luzón, and died on August 15, 1713. (*Ut supra*, fol. 400 b.)

⁴⁴ Diaz does not give the Christian name of this missionary, but Murillo Velarde says (*ut supra*, fol. 300 b), that it was Juan de Esquivel; this name, however, is not again mentioned by that author. On fol. 284 he gives the following account of Diego de Esquivel (of whom Juan may have been a brother): "On the sixth of June, 1665, died at Manila Father Diego de Esquivel, at the age of forty-two years, after seventeen years as a member of the Society; he was a native of the said city, and it was there that he entered the Society, in the year 1648. He finished his studies there, and, having been ordained as a priest, was sent to Ternate – where he learned perfectly the language of the natives, of which he wrote a grammar and a vocabulary. Thence he went to Tydore, and afterward to Siao, where the natives were living more as barbarians than as Christians; and he suffered greatly in that island, on account of the poverty of the country. He had his heart set on planting the faith and good morals among that people, by means of preaching, the good example of his life as a religious, and the charity with which he ministered to all; and he gained thereby the great affection of the people of Siao. This was known by Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, and therefore after the death of Don Bentura, the king of that island (who left a young son), the governor commissioned Father Esquivel with the government of that kingdom, as it was under the royal

ing him out after he had so long possessed the souls of those unfortunate people, influenced the Dutch heretics of Nueva Batavia, in the island of Jacatra, to destroy them by a secular persecution. For, as they are lords of all the islands where grows the clove of the spice-trade, in Maluco – Amboyno, Tidore, Ternate, Montiel, and many others – and this is the commerce which has returned most profits to their company, they have always endeavored that this aromatic merchandise be not transported by any other hands than their own, in order to assure their gains. They knew that some Span-

protection, to the great satisfaction of the chiefs of its villages; and the superiors [of the order] gave him permission, in so far as it was in accordance with the sacred canons, to act as counselor of the said kingdom. This caused the preservation in our holy faith of the many and glorious missions which this province has in the Orient – which are the island and kingdom of Siao, and the provinces of Manados or Cauripa (which are in the great island of Celebes, or Macazar), with other islands and missions, which he frequently visited, by which he gained many souls to God. He was sent to Ternate as rector, but, moved by affectionate desire for the salvation of his Siao, he left a father as vice-rector of the college [at Ternate], and returned to Siao. At this time, orders were given to withdraw the garrison from Ternate, and Father Esquivel returned to Manila, and many of those natives accompanied him – in order not to lose the faith, nobly abandoning their native land. They settled in Maragondong, La Estacada, and other places, with the name of Mardicas, and I knew in Maragondong some of them who had been born in Ternate. Through the hardships of this voyage Father Esquivel contracted an illness, which lasted during the remainder of his life. He spent some time as minister at Barás, where his sickness became worse; they carried him to Manila, where he died with great peace and resignation.”

Manuel Español was born in Aren, May 11, 1639, and entered the Jesuit order on November 21, 1656. Seven years later he came to the Philippine Islands. He was minister at the college of Manila two years, and afterward labored in the missions of Siao and Ternate for many years. He died in Manila, on March 10, 1684. (Murillo Velarde, *ut supra*, fol. 356.)

iards had settled in the islands of Siao, and that by them was carried away the clove product of that region, and that it might eventually diminish their own commerce. For that astute nation has so perseveringly maintained that the Dutch alone shall be absolute masters of the cloves and cinnamon; and so skilfully do they manage these commodities that in any year when there is an abundant product of cloves they burn such quantity of it as they consider superfluous, according to the computation that they have made of that crop (which is sufficient for the supply of the whole world), in order that their price may not be lowered, and that the commodity may not fall in value by becoming common and abundant. So great is the wisdom of these children of the world, in which they greatly exceed the children of the light.

They manned two ships with three hundred men-at-arms; and when our people in Siao were least on their guard the Dutch arrived, and landed their men, which the Spaniards were unable to prevent, as they were so inferior in numbers.⁴⁵ The Dutch committed no other hostility than to carry away as

⁴⁵ Murillo Velarde says (*ut supra*, fol. 302): "On the first of November, 1677, the Dutch seized Siao, called thither by Don Geronimo Daras, a rival and enemy of the king Don Francisco (who was a good Catholic, and a friend of the Spaniards); they went to conquer it, and left as governor of the island Robert Paagbrugue. They carried away to Malayo the fathers who were ministering there. They cut down the clove trees, and established several small forts with some artillery; and left there about two hundred men, with a preacher, who instructed the natives in regard to their errors. At first some of the Siao resisted; but now they are most obstinate heretics, and very bitter enemies of the Catholic religion - as I found in some who strayed to Manila in those days; although some were finally converted, and I baptized a boy of fourteen years who learned the [Christian] doctrine readily."

prisoners the religious of the Society, and Andrés Serrano and his soldiers – together with their standard, which our men could neither hide nor destroy – all of whom they conveyed to Batavia. But before they left the islands of Siao they rooted out and cut down all the cinnamon trees that grew there, until no roots or other trace of them were left – all which they did quite at their leisure, without any one saying a word to them. Andrés Serrano died in Batavia of grief, although the Dutch treated him and his soldiers well, as also the fathers. The religious afterward came to Manila, some in the time of this governor, and others during the term of his successor, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado.

All the triennial during which our provincial father Fray Dionisio Suárez ruled was very propitious for this province – not only because he was a religious very observant, kind, and lovable, but because this province possessed so many members of virtue and learning that they restored it to its first luster. The ministries in the doctrinas were well served, by one or two religious, according to their needs. The erection of many new convents was begun, some having been ruined by the earthquakes, and others torn down by military orders, when we were threatened with the coming of Kuesing Pompoan; but there was so much to restore that it kept us busy for more than three succeeding trienniums. Our provincial applied himself closely to the repairs on the magnificent convent at Manila, which greatly needed them, on the plan which he had made in the preceding triennium, when he was prior of that house; [and he accomplished] so much that to the diligence and zeal of that devout religious may be attributed its preservation.

While he was engaged in these occupations, the time came for him to finish the task of his government, so peaceful and prosperous, and for holding another chapter-session – to the great regret of all, for it seemed as if they divined that it would result less happily; but never did they expect that it would be so calamitous as it proved to be. For, just as the condition of the commonwealth had experienced its change from calamities and miseries to peace and happiness, so this our province changed from tranquillity to sudden fear. *Tempus pacis, tempus belli.*⁴⁶ And the most remarkable thing is that, just as the governor Don Manuel de León was the main cause of the peace and prosperity of Manila, so this same excellent gentleman was the prime cause of many troubles and disturbances, which occurred not only at the time of this chapter but throughout the triennium. I do not throw all the blame on him, because he was a great governor, very pious and of sincere intentions; but all disturbance has another cause, and the vulgar and common Spanish adage is very true which says: "He who is burning the woods is he who comes out of them."⁴⁷ No sensible person will admire seeing among religious the activity of flesh and blood and the passion of ambition, which they cannot leave behind in the world when they take refuge in the asylum of the cloister.⁴⁸ . . .

⁴⁶ *i.e.*, "a time of peace, a time of war."

⁴⁷ Spanish, *Del monte sale, quien al monte quema*, "indicating that the losses we suffer usually proceed from persons allied to us, or who live near us" (Dominguez).

⁴⁸ Here, as in several other places in our text, we omit various pious reflections and citations from Scripture or the fathers of the church, simply through the pressure of valuable historical matter upon our limited space.

The fourth definitor, Fray Francisco de Medina Basco, who was associate and secretary of the provincial Fray Dionisio Suárez, had displayed so much ability and good intention in administering his office – for he was an angel of peace, following the advice of our holy constitutions – that all desired that he should succeed to the office of him to whom he had been so capable an associate. This was desired by the provincial most of all; for, as he was of so peaceable a disposition, he wished to leave the province in the hands of one who could maintain it in the tranquillity which it was enjoying. But the malign father of discord was not pleased at seeing the great peace and concord which this province had enjoyed for so many years; he therefore strove with his arts to disturb and disunite it. The time for holding the chapter-session arrived apparently as peaceful as usual; and so the religious who were its members assembled, quite unconscious of what was to occur.

The chapter was convened on April 23, 1671, in the convent of San Pablo at Manila; and its president was father Fray Bernardino Márquez, by commission from our very reverend father the general of all the order of our father St. Augustine, Master Fray Pedro Lafranconio, a native of Ancona; and the other affairs which precede the election were transacted that afternoon with great peace and concord. But on Saturday, the day for the election of provincial, Governor Don Manuel de León sent to notify them that he would be present at the election, and sent over his official chair. This caused great uneasiness, for they recognized that this was an effort to prevent the election of the father definitor Fray Francisco de Medina Basco, on which thirty-

one of the voting fathers were agreed. The father president of the chapter was one of the eight who were opposed to this election, and these were favored by the governor—which in these islands means, to have whatever one may desire. Accordingly, the first thing that he did that afternoon was to make charges in virtue of which he deprived father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco of the right to vote or to be elected [*voz activa y pasiva*], and commanded him to leave the chapter-meeting—which he did with great humility and resignation, saying only those words of Jonah, *Si propter me orta est haec tempestas, projicite me in mare*,⁴⁹ and went to his convent of Tongdo. On the following day the governor came to the convent, accompanied by the senior auditor, Don Francisco de Coloma, Sargento-mayor Don Juan de Robles, and Captain Don Pedro de Tortosa, with their [military] company, as if it were to invest a fort of enemies. The religious were astonished at seeing such a military display, but with much decorum and gravity they proceeded with the transactions of the chapter; and at the first ballot father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco was elected by thirty-one votes, and the remaining eight fathers voted for father Fray Juan Caballero⁵⁰—a religious who had come to this province two years before, as I have already stated, and whose merits deserved

⁴⁹ *i.e.*, "If for my sake this tempest has arisen, cast me into the sea," paraphrasing rather than quoting the prophet's words (Jonah, i, v. 12).

⁵⁰ Juan Caballero was born in Córdoba in 1629, and made his profession in the Augustinian order at Sevilla (by a typographical error in Pérez's *Catálogo*, in 1637; probably, 1657). He came to Manila in the mission of 1669; three years later, was elected prior of Cebú, and in 1674 prior of Manila, where he died in 1685.

such a mark of esteem. The governor would not allow them to sing the *Te Deum laudamus*, and the president declared that he would not confirm the election, on account of its being inhibited by the suit which Father Francisco had brought when Licentiate Don Juan de Rosales was counselor; and one heard only protests on both sides, although the voters recognized that they would be overpowered by the side which the governor supported.

The latter went out from the hall, leaving the capitulars within under the guard of the soldiers, so that these should prevent the fathers from going out of the room until they should elect another provincial who should not be father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco; for father Fray Juan Caballero was not canonically elected, for lack of one more than half of the ballots of the voters. All that day, until evening, they remained shut up in the chapter-hall, experiencing great harshness; for the guards would not allow even a pitcher of water to be given to them, a cruelty very unlike the kindly nature of Don Manuel de León. The provisor and vicar-general of the vacant see, Doctor Don Francisco Pizarro Orellana, came out in defense of the ecclesiastical immunity, which had been violated by that compulsion; and it resulted in the religious being allowed to go to their cells, weak from hunger and thirst. But the governor ordered that two soldiers should be stationed at the door of each cell, so that the fathers could not leave their cells or communicate with one another. In these disturbances passed that Saturday until sunset, the limit peremptorily allotted by our holy constitutions within which the chapter can proceed to the election of a prior provincial; and, when that time was spent, the

authority for such election devolved upon our very reverend general [of the order]. But as this adjustment of the limit was made by violence, this prescription of the limit was, in a case so irregular as this, invalid. What I can assert, on the best information, is the great patience and humility which all the fathers of the chapter displayed in these tribulations, enduring great privations in this imprisonment, which lasted through Saturday and Sunday. Finally, recognizing that their strength was very inferior to that which was opposing them, and that further effort was only to struggle against the current of a freshet, they, acting on the advice of the said provisor, again assembled in the chapter-room on the following Monday, and made a new choice, that of father Fray Jerónimo de León – a native of Mexico, a son of the convent of Manila, quite advanced in years; he was an excellent minister in the province of Tagalos, and formerly prior of the convent of Bulacán, and was much beloved by all for his devout religious spirit and peaceable conduct. They appointed as definitors Master Fray José de Mendoza, father Fray Isidoro Rodríguez, father Fray Luis de Montufar, and father Fray Juan Bautista Bover; and for visitors father Fray Carlos Bautista and father Fray José Duque.⁵¹ As for father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco, they appointed him prior of the convent at Cebú and vicar-provincial of that island, which he accepted with much resignation and humility. The tempest in the chapter ceased, and the province again enjoyed its former tranquillity for some time.

Father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco lived

⁵¹ Biographical notices of these friars, and of others mentioned by Díaz in like connection, may be found in Pérez's *Catálogo*.

but a short time in Cebú, for while officiating there human weakness, resulting from melancholy and grief at what had occurred, prostrated him with a long illness; this time he knew how to improve to good purpose, seeking the welfare of his soul. His confessor, director, and teacher was the bishop of Cebú, Don Fray Juan López, a prelate of great wisdom and virtue, who took such personal interest in the spiritual welfare of this afflicted religious that he spent most of his time with him, until in his care the sick man gave up his soul to the Lord, with great consolation to the holy bishop and to all who were present at his death. [The proceedings of] this chapter went to Rome, to our very reverend father general; he confirmed father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco as provincial, and annulled the second election, that of father Fray Jerónimo de León, commanding the chapter to guard their prerogatives; otherwise, it would have been a legitimate election, on account of his having conducted himself as merely passive in his election, and it appeared that he had not taken part in the tumults of the chapter-session. . . .

CHAPTER II

[Chapter ii opens with an account of the rebellion in Otón, already told in VOL. XXXIX.] In September of 1671 was celebrated in Manila the festival of the dedication of the cathedral, which the holy archbishop Don Miguel Millán de Poblete had not been able to attain; but this was done by his nephew the dean, Don José Millán de Poblete, the bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia. A solemn feast of one week was solemnized, beginning with the day of the

Nativity of our Lady, and there were other demonstrations of public rejoicing; for Don Manuel de León's term of office produced many of these diversions, through the agency of his secretary, Don José Sánchez de Castellar – who had a very brilliant and versatile mind, and a flowery imagination; he had a great propensity for poetry, music, and studies in language, and was very liberal, so that he did not hesitate on account of the expenses which such festivities demand for their brilliant display.

On one of the nights of this celebration occurred at the port of Cavite the destruction by fire, without its being possible to prevent it, of the galleon "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción," one of the largest and finest which had been built in these islands; it had served, with prosperous voyages, on the trade-route to Nueva España. In the year 1672 also the commonwealth of Manila experienced a great calamity; the galleon "San Telmo," which had sailed for Nueva España in charge of General Antonio Nieto, had to return to Cavite – a misfortune which was keenly felt. But very soon afterward the galleon "San Antonio" was launched, in order to make a voyage under the command of General Don Juan Durán, nephew of the General Pedro Durán de Monforte, who has been so often named [in these pages]. The general remained in Nueva España with his wife, Doña María Jiménez, widow of Doctor Don Diego de Corbera, his Majesty's fiscal, who died in Lubán in the year 1668.

About this time arrived a patache from Macán, in which came a nobleman belonging to the Order of Christ, named Don N. de Tábor, who came as an envoy from that city on affairs belonging to the

commerce of both cities. This knight was very hospitably received, and made a brilliant figure on all festal occasions (which were many), displaying his liberality and magnificence; and he added much to the credit of his nation, although it does not need the reputation of individuals.

Among so many gayeties and rejoicings the fear of wars was not lacking; for news had come that the son of Kuesing, named Kinsie or Sipoan, intended, following his father's example, to fall upon the Filipinas. But this was false, for he was of a very different opinion—harassed by the Tartars and cornered in Hermosa Island; lacking followers and champans for so extensive an undertaking; and, besides, very inferior to his father Kuesing in courage and military training.

Notwithstanding that all this was well known in Manila, these reports came so plausibly fabricated that Don Manuel de León thought that he ought not to neglect or leave in uncertainty a matter which could occasion us irreparable injury; he therefore decided that it was less of an evil to seem credulous and over-cautious than to fail in his duties as commander through heedlessness and lack of foresight. He endeavored to take all precautions for such a contingency, warning the Pampangan and Cagayan peoples (who are the most warlike ones) to be ready in due time. He regulated the Manila garrison, which needed much reformation; and appointed experienced leaders. He commanded the armed fleets of the Pintados to be made ready; those of Panay and Ogton were taken by Captain Don José de San Miguel to be united with those of Cebú and Caraga, and all together formed

a fleet of more than a hundred joangas – which, if occasion arose, would be under the command of Don Fernando de Bobadilla. All this armada arrived at Manila at a time when it was quite certainly known that Kinsie was not undertaking any such attacks, and was quite destitute of forces to do so. And as I shall not have occasion to speak of him again, I consider it excusable to relate here the condition in which he found his affairs after the death of his father Kuesing. [Here follows a long account of this matter, which has no further relevance to our subject, and is therefore omitted.]

In the ship which came in the year 1672 arrived Doctor Diego Calderón y Serrano, a native of Granada – a student in the collegiate school⁵² of Master Rodrigo at Sevilla, and professor of canon law⁵³ at the university there – who came as auditor of the royal Audiencia of Manila; he entered that body to fill the office of fiscal, which is customary for the most recent auditor to do, when there is no proprietary fiscal. He was married to Doña Catalina Ansaldo, a very honorable and virtuous woman, who died soon after her arrival. He was one of the excellent, and even of the best, official judges that Manila has had – very conscientious, with much fear of God, and very disinterested, which is a great virtue in one who is a judge; and therefore he

⁵² Spanish, *colegial del mayor*. A *colegio mayor* is defined by Domínguez as “a community of youths, laymen of distinguished families, who devote themselves to various studies, living in a certain seclusion, and under a collegiate rector, whom they appoint, usually each year.”

⁵³ Spanish, *catedrático de decreto*. The *Decreto* was the book compiled by Gratianus which forms the first part of the canon law.

always remained poor, contenting himself with the income which he received from the royal treasury (which is three thousand pesos), and even from that he gave much in alms. He lived until the year 1688, and had a very pious death; he humbled himself to ask absolution from the censures which he, with his associates, had incurred in the banishment and exile of the archbishop Don Fray Felipe Pardo, who refused it to the others – as we shall see in the proper place, if by God's favor we reach the discussion of those times.

CHAPTER III

[Most of chapter iii is devoted to the coming to Manila of a French bishop, François de Palu, titular bishop of Heliopolis and vicar-apostolic for China, accompanied by several other Frenchmen, both priests and laymen; he is one of three envoys sent to promote the missions in Siam, Camboja, and other provinces, and in China, and to endeavor to reopen those of Japan. They make their headquarters at Ayudia, the Siamese capital, but their efforts to convert the Siamese fail, on account of the obstinacy with which they hold to their false religion and idol-worship – in which they surpass all other nations, whether heathen or Mahometan, “for it is not known that any Siamese has abandoned his idolatry and professed the law of Christ.” Moreover, the Frenchmen get into a controversy with the Portuguese ecclesiastics of Malacca, who claim all the above-named regions as being under their spiritual jurisdiction, since they are still classed as missions, not having a formal ecclesiastical hierarchy, as do the churches of Manila, America, and Goa. Palu's

coming to Manila stirs up much commotion in official circles. It is reported that he had set out for China, and was driven back by unfavorable weather to this port; and the Audiencia consider that it will not answer to allow him to go to that country, as, having been sent by authority of Alexander VII and the Propaganda, his entrance into China on such a mission would be an infringement of the royal patronage, since a large part of China is included in the demarcation of Castilla laid out by Alexander VI; and ecclesiastical appointments and jurisdiction therein belong to the jealously-guarded prerogatives of the Spanish crown. The royal officials at Manila therefore detain Palu, lodging him at the Jesuit college, where he is very hospitably entertained. When the Acapulco galleon is ready to sail, these French ecclesiastics are all placed aboard it and sent to Nueva España, and thence to Madrid. There Palu is well received, and has "much communication with the Conde de Medellín, the president of the supreme Council of Indias, an able minister and a man of great virtue." The bishop filled him with strange notions, basing his information on the little which he could have comprehended of the mode of government of these islands, and their religious conditions; for his retirement in the college of the Society of Jesus was for a short time, and his knowledge came not from ocular experience, but only from information by secular persons who visited him—who must have been only corrupt alcaldes-mayor who were trying to get rid of the gospel ministers, with whom those officials could not be on very good terms since the ministers had restrained them in their illegal and oppressive acts;

this [conflict with the officials] is the greatest hardship that is experienced in the ministries. The president, desiring to do what was right, listened attentively to the information furnished by so reverend a person, not considering that the prejudice of a person from a nation so opposed to us, and who had not found at Manila what he was expecting, rendered his account unreliable. From these reports ensued many royal decrees, which came [to Manila] years afterward, with mandates which were very difficult to carry out; because, as all the peoples [here] are different, they need different laws and rules. From this also originated the ordination of Indians as priests, of which there had been no previous example [here] – a wise precaution against the inconveniences which the Portuguese had experienced in Eastern India from ordaining *canerines*⁵⁴ under the pressure of necessity. This is a usage which even the Dutch heretics abominate, saying that it is one of the three causes through which India has been ruined. And as in Filipinas that necessity does not exist, because of the admirable arrangements which the Catholic monarchs of

⁵⁴ "More properly Konkans; the modern division of North Canara is part of the territory properly known as the Konkani, and the old Portuguese called the natives of their territory, both those of Goa and the North (properly the Konkans), and also those to the southward, indiscriminately Canarins." "The Canarins (who are heathen), are of two sorts, for such as are engaged in trade and other honorable callings are held in much greater respect than those who engage in fishing, or practice mechanical crafts." Canarin is the Portuguese form of the name applied to the natives of the coast, and interior north of Malabar, as far as and including Goa district; another form of the name is Karnatic, although it is now applied to the Tamil country on the eastern side of the Indian peninsula.— See *Voyage of Pyrard de Laval* (Hakluyt Society Publications, London, 1887-88) and notes by Gray and Bell, i, pp. 375-376, ii, pp. 35, 405-406.

España have made for sending, at the cost of their royal exchequer, religious from their kingdoms as missionaries, there was no need of resorting to the extreme measure of ordaining the Indians as priests – as the Portuguese of India had done, and as now do the bishops sent out on the part of the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* in their missions of Eastern India; and the latter do so because of their urgent necessity, since the said holy Congregation has not the funds for the support of European priests. On the contrary, the few whom they have in China, Tunquín, and other regions are supported by the alms which the citizens of Manila send them – except the bishops and priests of Siam, who have more means of support from fixed incomes in France.

This is a subject on which there is much to be said on both sides; but this is not the place for it, nor do I feel under obligation to continue it. I suppose that many Indians will be more worthy than are many Europeans to attain so high a dignity; but since the former usually do not enter the priesthood through the gate of a vocation, and only strive to attain it for the sake of advantage to themselves and their relatives, the danger is evident that the result will seldom be satisfactory. They cite the example of the primitive Church, which made bishops and ordained priests among the recently converted – like St. Paul in Ephesus and Athens, and in other parts of Greece, and the holy apostles for all the world; but there is a great difference [between that case and this], in the needs of those times and the nobility of those nations. These and many other changes resulted from the information given in Madrid by

the bishop Don Francisco Palu, who went to Roma, where also his information caused changes. I suppose that the intentions of this holy prelate were good; but he was lacking in experience. His representations also affected the governor Manuel de León and the auditors; for, although the royal Council of the Indias approved the caution with which they had acted in this so delicate matter, at Roma the result was very different. For his Holiness Clement X excommunicated them, and declared that they had incurred the censures of the bull *In Cæna Domini*, by a brief which, printed and authorized in Roma and Paris in the year 1675, was sent to Manila from China and Siam. [Here follows a sketch of Palu's further career, his death, and some matters relating to the Chinese missions.]

This year the galleon "San Telmo," which was going to Nueva España, in command of General Antonio Nieto, was driven back to port, which caused great losses in the property of the citizens of Manila.

Not less were the troubles which the archbishop of Manila, Don Fray Juan López, encountered from the time when he began to govern his church. He was a prelate of great virtue and learning, and of a pacific nature, disinclined to quarrels and discords; but as he was very firm in the defense of his jurisdiction and dignity, he greatly regretted that occasion should arise for disturbing the peace which he so loved. During his time, there were many occasions for recourse to the royal Audiencia, and controversies over jurisdiction; but that which most exercised the patience of this great prelate was the audacious conduct of Master Don Jerónimo de

Herrera y Figueroa, who filled the post of chief chaplain of the royal chapel of the Incarnation; this was founded by Governor Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, for the cemetery of Manila, for the burial of his soldiers, as we stated in its place. The said chief chaplain attempted to arrogate to himself the privileges and exemptions which the army chaplains enjoy when they are actually in the field; and thus he sought to be exempted from obedience to the archbishop and from his jurisdiction, although he was only the chaplain of a chapel in a presidio. He had on his side the favor of the governor, Don Manuel de León – which in Filipinas is to have the lawsuit already gained and all one's efforts successful. Made confident and daring by this, he opposed his prelate, not only refusing to obey him, but even being so insolent as to post the archbishop as excommunicate, to the scandal of all the heathen peoples who resort to Manila; and these abominable disputes lasted a long time. A long manifesto was written and printed in favor of Don Jerónimo de Herrera by Licentiate Don Juan de Rosales, an advocate in the royal Audiencia, proceeding on the false assumption of the privileges and exemptions of the chaplains who go with the armies in their campaigns; and reply to him was made, with very superior arguments, by the cura of the Spaniards in Manila, Bachelor Don José de Carrión. But, although the archbishop had justice on his side, the opposite side had a hold on the governor, and thus they did not care much for the lack of equity. This controversy was so bitter that the judges would not decide it, on account of the strained relations between them; and so it was necessary to refer the



case to España, to the royal and supreme Council of Indias. They, as unprejudiced judges, rendered sentence in favor of the archbishop; but when this decision arrived he was already dead. Then the chaplains of the said royal chapel learned that they were not exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, as the army chaplains are exempt for other and reasonable causes.

These and other troubles, together with those of old age, hastened the death of the archbishop, Don Fray Juan López; this was as holy as his life, and occurred in April of the year 1674. He was buried in the convent of Santo Domingo, among his brethren. He was a native of Martín Muñoz de las Posadas, and came to this province of Santo Rosario in the year 1647. He taught theology in the convent of Santo Tomás in Manila, and went to España and Roma as procurator of the province, returning as consecrated bishop of Cebú in the year 1666. In 1672 he began to govern the archbishopric of Manila, with great reputation as a vigilant pastor, although that church enjoyed only two years of his prudent government. The regret for his loss was increased by the fact that a general vacancy in the office of consecrated bishop ensued in all the islands; this lasted until the year 1680, when the bishop of Cebú, Don Fray Diego de Aguilar arrived here – great affliction being caused in all that long period, by the lack of any one to confer holy orders on men who might assist the ministers who gave instruction. Many, both clerics and regulars, were obliged to journey to the kingdom of Siam, where they were ordained by Don Luis de Lanoy Faces, bishop of Metelopolis and vicar-apostolic of that kingdom;



and others went to Nueva España to be ordained, for even the city of Macán was without a bishop. Don Fray Payo de Ribera,⁵⁵ the archbishop and viceroy of Mexico, was careful to send them the holy oils every year; he belonged to the order of our father St. Augustine, and was a prelate worthy of eternal remembrance on account of his great virtues—on which he placed the seal by renouncing the bishopric of Cuenca and retiring to the convent of our Lady of El Risco. He died there, with a great reputation for sanctity, being an example for prelates and for very austere religious.

CHAPTER IV

The triennial of our father Fray Jerónimo de León passed with some disturbances, which did not fail to cause considerable disquiet in the minds of the religious, and disturb the peace of the order. The reason was, that after the first year of his term,

⁵⁵ Payo Enriquez de Rivera was a native of Sevilla, and son of the Duke de Alcalá, viceroy of Naples. In 1628 he made profession in the Augustinian order, and after obtaining his degrees in theology and philosophy held various important offices in Spain. In 1657 he was presented to the see of Guatemala, and ten years later to that of Michoacan; soon afterward he was made archbishop of Mexico, which office he assumed in June 1668. The viceroyalty of Mexico becoming vacant, by the death of Pedro Nuño Colon, Duke de Veraguas, a few days after taking possession of that government (December, 1673), he was immediately succeeded, by a royal order anticipating this event, by Fray Payo de Rivera, who ruled Nueva España for seven years. Rivera was distinguished by his ability as a ruler, not only in matters ecclesiastical, but in civil and military affairs—to all of which he attended with zeal and prudence; and he was beloved by the people. In July, 1681, he set out for Spain, where he had two important appointments from the government; but he declined these, and retired to the convent of Santa María del Risco. He died on April 8, 1684, honored in both life and death by the government and by his people. (Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii, pp. 182-187.)

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he began to doubt whether he was lawfully elected, as it seemed to him that the real provincial was father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco; and indeed this was the case, as affirmed by our very reverend father general, Fray Nicolas de Oliva, of Sienna. Father Fray Francisco de Medina Basco had met a holy death in Zebú; and therefore our father Fray Dionisio Suárez, as provincial of the preceding chapter, began to govern [the province] as rector-provincial. Then Fray Jerónimo de León had recourse to the royal Audiencia⁵⁶ on a plea of fuerza, alleging this spoliation. And inasmuch as such proceeding acts as a stay, since it is a principle in law that *Spoliatus debet ante omnia restitui, omni alio casu postposito*,⁵⁷ they ordered that the government be restored to Fray Jerónimo, and that the question of title should be acted on later. But as judicial procedure is so slow, and of such bounds that they usually make a lawsuit eternal, our father Fray Dionisio Suárez was not inclined to secure his right at the cost of so much vexation; and therefore the triennial was completed in great peace; for father Fray Jerónimo de León was a religious very affable and worthy of being loved, and he deserved that his election should not be hampered by so notable a defect.

The time arrived for holding the session of the provincial chapter—the time in which the troubles which so many difficulties had caused to this prov-

⁵⁶ Our Constitutions inhibit such procedure, the applying to courts outside the order. For us, appeals lie only to the Pontiff, who, being the common father of the faithful, is not considered an outsider.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

⁵⁷ *i.e.*, "The party dispossessed must first of all be restored, any other proceeding being deferred."

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ince were to cease, and when not only the former peace and concord were to return, but great gains were to be secured in religious observance; for from the time of this chapter-meeting this province began to grow more strict, and to grow in all that conduces to its greater splendor, every chapter-session increasing in strictness of observance, to the greater glory of our regular institute. Such are usually the benefits that arise from the judicious choice of a good superior, who undertakes to fulfil the obligations of his office. The chapter was convened in the convent of Manila on April 14, 1674; its president was the father definitior Fray Luis de Montuyar, on account of the deaths of the two senior definitors, Master Fray José de Mendoza and Fray Isidro Rodríguez. By general agreement the election for provincial fell on our father Fray José Duque, commissary of the Holy Office. He was a native of Oropesa, and was fifty-six years old; a son of the convent of San Felipe at Madrid, and a very near relative of the glorious saint Teresa de Jesús; and an able minister in the province of Pampanga, besides having much to do with its pacification in the disturbances in that province which we have already related. He came over to this province of Filipinas in the year 1645, and always had the reputation of being a religious of very strict observance, with great ability as a ruler; and this province found him to be such during an experience of many years in his four terms of office therein — three as provincial, and one as rector-provincial — being always revered as the father of it. As definitors were elected fathers Fray Enrique de Castro, Fray José Gutiérrez, Fray Bernardino Márquez, and Fray Bartolomé de la Torre;

and as visitors fathers Fray Antonio de Villela and the reader Fray José Rubio. Ordinances and regulations very suitable for the good government of the province were enacted, not many in number but useful and judicious.

At that period, this province was found very deficient in religious, on account of the many vacancies caused by death; on this account the ministries lacked the service which their extent and the arduous nature of some rendered necessary. Accordingly, as soon as the chapter-session adjourned the first care to which the new provincial devoted himself was to choose a well-qualified religious who might go as procurator to the two courts of Roma and Madrid, where the discords of the troubled chapter of the year 1671 had made a strong impression. For this purpose a private chapter-session was assembled, and therein a very judicious choice was made for this position, that of father Fray Juan García – a native of Las Encartaciones, and a minister in the province of Ilocos. The necessary despatches were given to him, and he embarked in the same year for Nueva España, in the galleon “San Telmo;” it was commanded by General Tomás de Endaya, a most successful man in these islands, where he died as his Majesty’s master-of-camp for them, in the year 1745. This religious had a prosperous voyage, and arrived at Nueva España and Roma; he successfully fulfilled his commission in all respects, and afterward returned to this province with a mission of religious, in the year 1679, so long was he detained in the negotiations at Roma and Madrid.

Through the peaceful rule of Don Manuel de León, in which term all was prosperous and for-

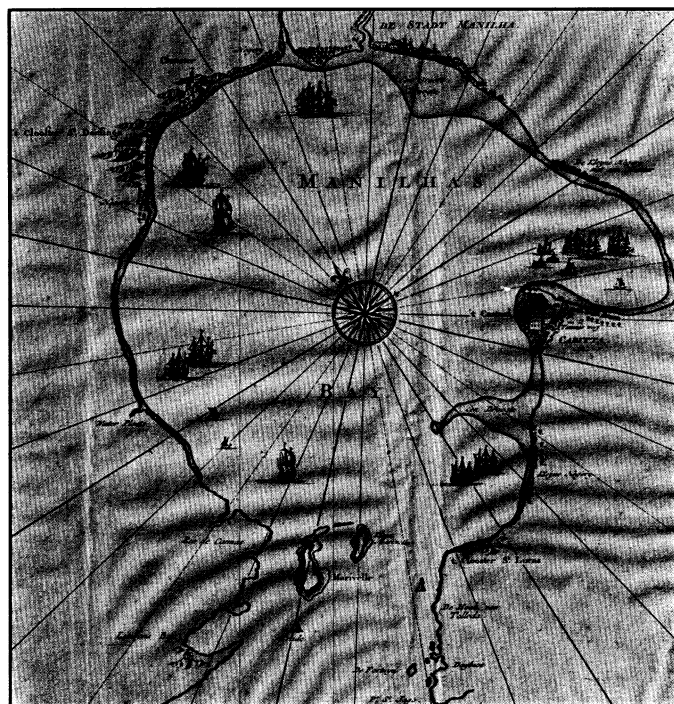


Chart of Manila Bay; photographic facsimile
from Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*
(Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724)

[From copy in library of Wisconsin Historical Society]

fortunate, the Filipinas Islands began to take breath after the troubles of so many preceding years; and in a short time they were gathering new strength and vigor. Don Manuel de León was a man of very good intentions, and had the excellent virtue of being very disinterested – which is very important in these regions, where the vice opposite to that has temptations so ready to make one fall headlong into the abyss of greed, which causes so many wrecks, as the root of all evils. Trading vessels came frequently from China, of which country the Tartars had gained entire possession; the Chinese, therefore, having laid aside their defensive arms, strove to accommodate themselves to the times, being anxious to repair the losses caused by war with the gains from trading – which is more adapted to their disposition than is war, Mars giving place to Mercury. The Chinese trade is the mainstay of the maintenance of Filipinas, by means of the silver which comes from Nueva España, which is the blood that gives life to this land; for from China come the stuffs necessary for clothing, from the shirt in their delicate fabrics to the needle and thread. Thence comes the fine earthenware which is, with reason, so celebrated throughout the world as choice and inimitable, because the material and clay of which it is made are found in no other place. Thence come drugs, and very rich coloring stuffs – especially vermillion, which is the best in the world. Finally, one cannot imagine any exquisite article for the equipment of a house which does not come from China, both cheap and excellent – especially the wares that come from Japón, with which country the Chinese have free commerce, just as it is totally prohibited

to us. In some of the years of that fortunate governor thirty champans would land at Manila, and many from the province of Cantón, where is the city of Macán, a Portuguese colony – which is so rich in silks that it has enough of that noble commodity to supply nearly all of the whole world; it is conveyed in ships belonging to the Dutch, English, French, and Portuguese, and that which is carried to Manila and thence to Nueva España is the smallest part of it. The great city of Cantón (or Kuang-tung, as they call it) is far greater than the great Cairo or Babilonia of Egypt, for those who are most moderate in estimating its population allow it four millions of inhabitants; but although it is so great it is not the largest city in the extensive empire of China, for that of Nanking has eight millions, according to Father Martino Martínez in his Chinese atlas.⁵⁸ It is very commonly said in Manila that the city of Cantón has sixty thousand silk-looms, on which are made various fabrics of cloth and damask; and thus in one month enough is woven to lade many ships. By this some idea can be formed of the other industries of that city – or rather, that little world.

Commerce was also opened with the Portuguese of Macán, a trade which had been quite forgotten with the disturbances in China; and from that time it has continued, in varying degree, until this day. This trade, moreover, had been prohibited since the

⁵⁸ Referring to a work by the Jesuit writer Martin Martini (1614-61), who for many years was a prominent missionary in China. This was his *Novus atlas Sinensis* (Vienna, 1655), which formed part 10 of the great atlas published by Joannis Blaeu at Amsterdam (1656). Diaz hispanicizes Martini's name, and rather curiously uses the Italian word *atlante* for "atlas" instead of the Spanish *atlas*.

year 1640, on account of the wars with Portugal; but through the negotiations carried on at the court of Madrid by Don Fray Álvaro de Benavente, when he was procurator of this province – asserting that this was the best and safest means for the entrance into China for the missionaries who were going to Filipinas – the trade with Macán was opened and authorized, as was accordingly published in Manila by a royal decree; and it was made known to the Portuguese at Macán by another from their king, Don Pedro II. The pretext which was given for opening this commerce was the entrance of the missionaries into China, and its results have been various, according to what the Portuguese have found expedient for their own interests, on account of the pretensions which they make to the [ecclesiastical] patronage of China – in accordance with the line of demarcation [between the dominions] of the two crowns, by the celebrated bull of Alexander VI, a question which is not yet decided by a competent judge; and therefore our missionaries enter China when the Portuguese choose to let them do so. But the latter come every year to Manila with one or two shiploads of goods, which is the most profitable trade that they have, on account of its nearness and of their securing in barter the silver that is so esteemed by the Chinese. But as the Portuguese are so courtly and liberal a people, and inclined to boast of the obligations of nobility, some Portuguese gentlemen usually return quite destitute of funds – as occurred this year to Juan Tabora, a cavalier of the Order of Christ. He spent the wealth which he brought here, which was much, in elegant gallantries and in bull-fights; for he arrived here at a time

when these and other sports were very frequent in Manila – not only on account of the prosperity and peace which were experienced during the entire term of office of Don Manuel de León, but through the jovial disposition of his favorite and secretary, Don José Castellar, who was a very witty and courtly man, and very fond of such pastimes. In these he spent whatever he was able to acquire, and when he came to die he was so poor that he was buried, through charity, in a chapel of St. Roque in the village of Mambong, belonging to the doctrina of Malolos in the province of Bulacán, which is in our charge.

Not only was the commerce with China, Cantón, and Macán set free in the time of the fortunate governor Don Manuel de León, but another was begun – indeed, almost discovered – which was very large and profitable, which has greatly increased the wealth of the citizens of Manila. This is the trade and traffic of the coast of Coromandel or Malabar⁵⁹ in Eastern India. This is the coast which extends from the mouths of the river Ganges, at the beginning of the large kingdom of Bengal, as far as the cape of Comorin; it is inhabited by Malabars, a people very shrewd and intelligent, and fond of work, and so crafty that when it is worth their while they deceive [even] the Chinese, who excel in the ability to cheat. The Malabar and Bengal people are unsurpassed in the art of spinning and weaving cotton cloth; for they weave pieces more delicate than the finest cambrics and Dutch linens, and

⁵⁹ More strictly the name Coromandel is applied to the eastern coast of India north of Cape Comorin, and Malabar to the western coast.

gauzes so fine that when they are spread upon a table, the thread can hardly be discerned, it is so thin and delicate. But that in which they most excel, and have been alone and inimitable, is in their very fine cotton cloth dyed exquisitely with the finest colors; and this has another quality most excellent and admirable, which is that the more it is washed, the finer and more lustrous the colors appear, and they never are washed out or become dull. Without doubt these so rare colors are those which Job mentions in the twenty-eighth chapter, when making comparisons with Wisdom, he says: *Non conferetur tinctis Indiæ coloribus*.⁶⁰ On this coast of Coromandel the English, Dutch, French, and Danes maintain their factories, and possess an extensive commerce in cotton cloth, which is consumed throughout Europa – and much more in the regions of the north, because cotton is so good for protecting them [from the cold]. But the largest settlement, and the one most frequented for commerce, is that which the English have, named Madrastapán, or Fort St. George;⁶¹ it is peopled with innumerable dwellers of all nationalities, not only those of India but Europeans. This is greatly favored by the policy that is in use in this great town, very different from that which obtains in Inglaterra, which is to permit the exercise not only of the apostolic Roman Catholic faith, but of all the heathen doctrines and ceremonies; and thus the Catholics have their churches, and so do the schismatic Armenians, with

⁶⁰ *i.e.*, "It shall not be compared with the dyed colors of India" (Job, xxviii, v. 16).

⁶¹ See plan of Madras, and maps of Coromandel coast, in Bellin's *Atlas maritime*, iii, fol. 37-39.

schismatic Basilian monks.⁶² The heretics have their meeting-houses,⁶³ according to their sects; the Moors [*i.e.*, Mahometans] their mosques, and the heathen their pagodas; nor even is their synagogue denied to the Jews; and all live peaceably, exercising the occupations of trade, as harmoniously as if they all had but one faith and religion. About two leguas distant is the city of Santo Tomé, a noted colony of the Portuguese, which in former times enjoyed [the distinction of] being the emporium of all Eastern India; and the cause of its destruction was its enormous wealth and the lack of harmony among the Portuguese, a people who are naturally inclined to disagree. On a lofty height near the city there is an ancient church, in which is venerated an image of Our Lady, which is said to have been painted by St. Luke and deposited in that place (called Meliapor) by the apostle St. Thomas, who preached to the Malabars our holy faith and suffered martyrdom in this place — where is guarded a stone cross near which he was put to death; and the lance with which they pierced him, stained with his holy blood, is displayed, with other memorials of this glorious apostle. [Diaz here mentions the great probability,

⁶² The Basilian order was founded by St. Basil, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. His rule became so popular in the East as to supplant all others; and at this day it alone is recognized and followed by the monks of the Greek Church. This order also made its way into southern Italy, Poland, Hungary, and Russia. Nearly all the convents of Basilian nuns (founded by St. Macrina, sister of Basil), like those of the monks, have embraced the Eastern schism. (Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, citing Hélyot's *Ordres monastiques*.)

⁶³ Spanish, *crescas*, a word not given in the lexicons, but evidently, from the context, to be thus rendered.

fortified by citations from Juan de Barros, that the remains of the apostle repose there.]⁶⁴

This commerce with the coast of Coromandel had remained quite neglected by the Spaniards of Filipinas – who never had maintained any other trade and commerce than that with China, Japón, and Macán – until this year of 1674. Then a citizen of Manila, a Catalan, named Juan Ventura Sarra, a courageous man, having first made with a fragata which he owned a voyage to the kingdom of Siam, from which he gained some wealth, extended his navigation to this coast of Malabar, where he left trade established; and in the following year Don Luis de Matienzo went thither, with much silver, and gained enough profit to persuade the citizens of Manila to engage in this traffic. The principal commodity which is brought from the Coromandel coast is certain webs of cotton, many of them forty varas long, which they call “elephants,” which are highly valued in Nueva España; accordingly, it is this merchandise which is chiefly shipped to those regions.

The governor placed on the stocks the frame of the galleon “Santa Rosa,” the work of that accredited master of this important and useful art, Juan Bautista Nicolás; and it came from them one of the finest and largest galleons that had been built in the port of Cavite, and made very successful voyages,

⁶⁴ See Linschoten’s account of this story of St. Thomas’s preaching in India, and A. C. Burnell’s notes thereon, in *Voyage of Linschoten* (Hakluyt Society Publications, London, 1885), i, pp. 83-89. Burnell says that this story is unknown to the natives of India, and evidently originated in Syria. The inscription on the alleged tomb of St. Thomas near Madras is now known to be Nestorian, of about the ninth century A. D.

sometimes being driven back to port. The governor commanded Juan Canosa Raguses, a very able builder of vessels with lateen sails, to build two galleys; these proved to be very suitable and swift, and rendered much service in driving away the Camucones, very crafty and troublesome pirates, who almost every year infest the Pintados Islands, plundering and taking captive. This is a barbarous people, cruel, and cowardly; indeed, they could not be the one without being also the other. They inhabit a chain of small islands, which extends from Paragua to Borneo; some of them are Mahometans, and others heathen. But they [all] cause much damage to the Bisayan Islands, which they ravage without opposition – going so far as to carry away, in the year 1672, the alcalde-mayor Don José de San Miguel, as we have related in another place. They have a great advantage in the exceeding swiftness of their vessels, which enables them to find their defense in flight. Their confidence and boldness reached such a height that they even dared to infest the coasts of the island of Manila. The provincial of that time (of whom this chapter treats), Fray José Duque, while on his way to visit the islands of Pintados, came very near being made a captive, with his companion Fray Álvaro de Benavente; for they were attacked by a squadron of these pirates near the island of Marinduque, where they would have been a prey to their cruelty if they had not been protected by divine kindness, through the valor of Captain Francisco Ponce – a veteran soldier, who killed the captain and another of the pirates – and also the coming of a high wind, which gave wings to the champan to place itself in safety.

At this time, in the year 1675, Governor Don Manuel de León was in great danger of dying, on account of having placed himself under medical treatment, without being actually sick, solely for the sake of improving his health – a proof that it might have cost him his life. Don Manuel was a corpulent man, and had grown so fleshy that he was almost unable to move about without aid, at which he grieved much because he could not attend to many functions which belonged to the obligations of his office. In view of this hindrance and his desires, Juan Ventura Sarra (whom I have already mentioned in the voyages to Siam and the coast of Coromandel) bound himself to cure Don Manuel and remove from him that great encumbrance [of flesh] – confident because he was a very expert surgeon, and the governor a man of great courage and reared in and accustomed to the perils of war. The governor accordingly accepted this treatment; and the skilful surgeon opened his abdomen in many places and removed from him many lumps of fat, and then sewed up and treated the wounds. In a few weeks the governor became well, and his flesh was much reduced, to the wonder of those who saw how the surgeon cut the flesh from his body, and the courage which the governor displayed – and what caused most dread [of the result] was his being an aged man, but little less than seventy years old. The king of León, Don Sancho I, was cured about the year 920 of a similar infirmity of excessive obesity, by the physicians of the Moorish king of Córdoba, Abderramen; but their treatment was not so harsh and sanguinary. It is certain that Juan Ventura Sarra was a great surgeon, and showed that he was

such not only with this governor, but also in the year 1682 with his successor, Master-of-camp Don Juan Vargas Hurtado. There was no hope for Don Juan's life, on account of a large abscess in the hip, which was not understood to be such by the physicians; but Juan Ventura knew what it was, and opened the abscess with a large lancet which he made from a dagger, more than a *tercia*⁶⁵ long, since the cavity was very deep. In this operation he showed his skill as much as Don Juan de Vargas displayed his great bravery and endurance, which aroused admiration.

Although the cure of Don Manuel de León was so marvelous, he did not, since that inordinate obesity was now a disease and a corruption of nature, long enjoy the agility and lightness of body that the medical treatment had obtained for him; and so he gradually fell back into that unusual infirmity, and again found himself, as before, without the use of his limbs. He had many wounds in his body, which he had received in more than fifty years of military life in Flandes, Alemania, and Galicia, where he had taken part in battles more celebrated than were known in those times [*i.e.*, of which Diaz was writing]. He had been so courageous in not fearing dangers that they called Don Manuel de León "Ironhead." Among these he had one deep wound, which must have been imperfectly or only apparently healed; and this in course of time, and with the pressure on it that would be caused by the increase of flesh, opened, a great flow of blood issuing from it. This occurred so inopportunately

⁶⁵ *Tercia*: the third part of a vara (33.38+ inches), therefore a little more than 11 inches; generally used as a measure of length.

that he was present in the church of Santo Domingo, clothed in mourning garb, assisting in the funeral rites for Doña María Cuéllar, wife of Auditor Don Francisco de Coloma.⁶⁶ His blood flowed very copiously, but those near him could not see it on account of the mourning garments, and because the chair and cushion were of black, until he began to swoon, and sank into the chair. They carried him in their arms to his coach, and thence he was conveyed to his palace, where all the care due to the cure of such a personage as he was furnished. The above-mentioned Juan Ventura Sarra treated him, applying all means which the art of surgery imparts to those who are so skilful as was Juan Ventura, who within four months brought him to what seemed a state of convalescence. But as his age was so great, and could not give much aid to the medicine (which only assists nature), Don Manuel could never regain sound health. The physicians ordered him to go to one of the houses that stand by the river opposite Manila, where he spent a long time – until, on the night of April 8, 1676, they found him dead in his bed, although he had retired without any indications

⁶⁶ Concepción's account of this occurrence (*Hist. de Philipinas*, vii, pp. 258, 259) contains an explanation somewhat remarkable for a period when sanitary science had made little progress, even in Europe.

"Governor Don Manuel de Leon was sick from excessive corpulency; and Don Juan de Sarra treated him by making cruel cuts in the flesh of his body. He attended, when these incisions were not yet quite healed, the funeral of Doña María del Cuellar, the deceased wife of Auditor Don Francisco Coloma; and in the church the vapors which exhale from buried corpses – which, experience proves, cost those so dear, who enter the church with sores or wounds, as these are poisoned and corrupted by those vapors – had the effect on the governor of opening his wounds, and bringing on a hemorrhage which exhausted him, [and he died, April 11, 1667]."

of such danger. They found a power of attorney authorizing the father provincial of St. Dominic, Master Fray Diego de San Román, to make a will in his name, and directions that he be interred in the royal chapel of the Incarnation belonging to the soldiers of Manila, where he lies in a little chapel which stands on the gospel side. He was one of the best governors who has ruled these Filipinas Islands, very disinterested, pious, affable, and clement; and his death was therefore regretted by all classes. The estate that he left was the only property belonging to a governor that was put to good use,⁶⁷ the religious who acted as administrator applying it to pious works which the governor had named to him – such as the holy Bureau of La Misericordia, so that for years many orphan girls were given in marriage by means of that part [of the governor's donation]

⁶⁷ Salazar relates the disposition of the governor's estate (*Hist. Sant. Rosario*, pp. 114, 115), saying that, besides the provincial, Fray Balthasar de Santa Cruz and General Marcos Quintero Ramos were named by León as his executors; referring to the prohibition (see his p. 43) of such administration to the Dominican friars, he adds: "The said fathers could not refuse to accept this onerous charge as executors, not only on account of what our order owed to the deceased, but because of other circumstances which stood in the way and concerned the peace of the community." He states that Fray San Roman's death (less than a year after the governor's) did not prevent the administration of León's estate and the disposal of his property, which Santa Cruz carried out, the handling of the money being left entirely to Quintero. The governor's fortune amounted to 250,000 pesos, of which the Dominican order appropriated nothing to itself, the money being almost entirely spent in pious foundations and charitable works. To the Misericordia was given 50,000 pesos, part of which was set aside for the dowries of orphan girls; to León's native place, 33,000 pesos to found chaplaincies, for the benefit of his soul; 12,000 to rebuild the hospital of San Lazaro at Manila, and a like sum for rebuilding the seminary of Santa Potenciana; and the remainder was spent in various works of piety and charity, for the benefit of the community.

which belonged to their dowries, until, with the successive wrecks of the two galleons "Santo Cristo de Burgos" and "San José," in the years 1693 and 1695, the principal of that great endowment was entirely consumed. He also left directions to found a well-endowed chaplaincy in his native place – Paredes de Nava, in the district of Campos – and many other good works, worthy of his piety.

On account of his death the senior auditor, Don Francisco de Coloma, took charge of the government, in company with auditors Don Francisco de Mansilla and Don Diego Calderón y Serrano for civil affairs – for already had come the decision, in the controversy between the two auditors, by the royal and supreme Council of the Indias in favor of Don Francisco de Coloma, although his government lasted but a short time, on account of his death. During the time while they governed, however, they were very well agreed. The new governor despatched the ship "Santa Rosa" (which had just been completed) for Nueva España, in charge of General Don Francisco de Teja, a Navarrese gentleman; and it had a very prosperous voyage, as we shall see in due time.

CHAPTER V

All the triennial during which our father Fray José Duque ruled was a very prosperous time for this province, on account of the great improvement which was accomplished by his assiduity in reforming it, with both zeal and discretion; for he was as respected as beloved by all. The religious greatly regretted that the end of his term of office was approaching, and to see themselves deprived of so

excellent a prelate, who had so built up the edifice of strict observance of our rules, and had much better regulated the administration of the mission villages and ministries in our charge – his excellent management making up for the great deficiency of laborers which existed, which made it necessary, in many respects, to burden each minister with the work of two. Not his least care was that he had found the common property of not only the province but the convent of Manila greatly diminished, and everything reduced to the utmost necessity of restoration; for this is usually the greatest hindrance and impediment to the superiors in promoting with energy the regular observance, which requires many means for its preservation. But all was supplied by the diligence of that discreet prelate, making easier the removal of the most serious hindrances.

The time came for holding the provincial chapter, which assembled on May 8 in the year 1677, and, according to custom, in the convent of Manila. It was presided over – by commission of our very reverend father general, Master Fray Nicolás de Oliva, of Sienna – by the father reader Fray Miguel Rubio; and the election for provincial fell, by the general consent of all the voting fathers, and with the approval of all who were outside of the order, on our father Fray Juan de Jeréz, a religious excelling in virtue. He was a native of Baños in Extremadura, bishopric of Plasencia – a place belonging to the Duke de Béjar and the Marqués de Montemayor – and was a son of the convent of Valladolid and fifty years of age. He had been for many years master of novices in the convents of Salamanca and Burgos, which is a sufficient proof

of his religious devotion and virtue. He left España for these islands in the year 1669, and had been a minister in Pampanga; and in this chapter he cast his first vote as visitor of the province.⁶⁸ As definitors were elected the fathers Fray Pedro de Mesa, Fray Juan Labao, Fray Francisco de Albear, and Fray Pedro Canales; and as visitors the fathers Fray Domingo de San Miguel and Fray Juan Guedeja. They enacted statutes very useful for the government of the province, and for the stricter observance of our religious estate, many of which were reproduced in various following chapters, having been found by experience to be well-chosen and advantageous.

The acting governor despatched the galleon "San Telmo" for Nueva España, in charge of General Don Tomás de Endaya, a regidor of the city of Manila; and it encountered so many storms before doubling the point of Santiago that fears were entertained that it would not have time to make the voyage before the vendavals. But the bravery of the commander and of his pilot, Leandro Cuello, overcame great difficulties, and they succeeded in reaching their destination.

The galleon "Santa Rosa," which had sailed for Nueva España the year before, had also experienced storms, from the time when it reached the Embocadero of San Bernardino. For this reason Sargento-mayor Alfonso Fernández Pacheco came to Manila, bringing the despatches from his Majesty and information of the ship's arrival on the thirtieth of

⁶⁸ Every province was entitled to choose four definitors and two visitors. In chapters the voting list is published prior to the elections; it contains the name of every person entitled to vote therein, with the position entitling him to vote.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

August. This galleon brought the news that Don Carlos II had begun, at the age of fifteen years, to rule the monarchy of España in person, freed from the guardianship of the queen-mother, Doña Mariana of Austria; and commands were issued that his royal name and seal be used in the despatches, and that royal fiestas proper to so important an event be celebrated – which took place afterward, in the month of December, as we shall soon relate.

[At this time] came the despatches for the presentation made by his Majesty for the archbishopric of Manila, of the person of the very reverend father master Fray Felipe Pardo, of the Order of Preachers; he accepted this dignity, and began to govern his church, the ecclesiastical cabildo yielding up the government to him. This appointment found him at the time engaged in the duties of commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition; his place therein was taken by father Fray Juan de los Angeles, a man who was worthy of such a name on account of his virtue and mild disposition. Also came the presentation of the reverend father Fray Andrés González for bishop of Nueva Cáceres or Camarines; he also accepted, and was consecrated, and ruled that church creditably, as he was a devoted religious, and very charitable; and he left behind him, when he died, a great reputation for sanctity.

On September 27, the acting governor, Auditor Don Francisco Coloma y Maceda, died at the age of sixty years, from an intestinal hemorrhage; he was an official of much integrity and uprightness, and was buried in the convent of Santo Domingo with his wife, Doña María de Cuellar. The government was assumed by Auditor Don Francisco de Mansilla,

a native of Ceniceros in Rioja, who was no less upright than his predecessor. His term of office was short, because a proprietary governor came in the following year; but even in the short time while his rule lasted he showed that he deserved that it should continue during his life, on account of the very peaceable and equitable manner in which he exercised his office. The first thing which he did was to look for all those who had been opposed to him in the year 1668, when he was exiled to Iloylo by Don Juan Manuel Bonifaz; and he honored all of them, more than some deserved, displaying a generous spirit, and that of a Christian ruler, which aroused the admiration of those who saw his prudence and moderation. These islands were much grieved that he must so soon have a successor, for the people loved and revered him. He was of corpulent figure and venerable aspect; and his hair (which was scanty) and his mustache (which was large) were white as snow – all which conciliated respect. Two years afterward, promotion came to him, the post of *alcalde* for criminal cases in [the Audiencia of] Méjico; but he died at the height of the voyage.⁶⁹ He had two sons: Don Felipe Mansilla, a knight of the Order of Santiago, who lives in Méjico; and Father Antonio Mansilla, of the Society of Jesus, in these islands.

The city and municipality of Manila having determined to celebrate the festivities due to the great rejoicing which was caused in the Spanish domains by the assumption of sovereignty over them by their

⁶⁹ Spanish, *altura*; here meaning the most northern part of the ship's course, as the ships sailing from Manila took a route far northward to avail themselves of the trade-winds.

king Don Carlos II, decided that these should be actually held in December, from the fourth to the seventh day of that month. This was done with great pomp and brilliancy. In the morning three sermons were preached: one by the dean of the cathedral, Master Don Miguel Ortíz de Covarrubias; another by father Fray Álvaro de Benavente of the order of our father St. Augustine (the secretary of our province, and often named in this history; he died in China, as bishop of Ascalon and vicar apostolic of Kiengsi); and the third by the reverend Father Jerónimo de Ortega, of the Society of Jesus. For the afternoons there were various bull-fights and comedies. On the last day, December 7, after the bull-fights and comedies, there were demonstrations of rejoicing; and for a climax to the festivities there was, at six o'clock in the afternoon, a beautiful and splendid masquerade, with magnificent costumes, and parades of servants in costly liveries. The most distinguished citizens of Manila went therein, two by two, representing the realms of the monarchy of España, with shields and mottoes proper for each kingdom; those who came last were the two *alcaldes-in-ordinary* of Manila, General Francisco Rayo Doria and *Sargento-mayor* Don Francisco de Moya, representing the kingdoms of Castilla and León. They rode in pairs on handsomely-caparisoned horses, to the destination which was prepared for this purpose with palisades, and with so much splendor from wax tapers that the night had no cause to envy the brighter day. With this brilliant and elegant masquerade these royal festivities came to an end, the city remaining in the quiet and silence proper to that hour, which was about seven at night.

Quite ignorant were all those who had celebrated and enjoyed this gay festival of the sad and melancholy catastrophe which was to follow on this so joyous scene; all were forgetful of the uncertainty of the pleasures of this world, which suddenly shifts its scenes, passing from gayety to mourning. Hardly had the people time to shelter themselves in their houses – some fatigued with the exercises of the masquerade, and others sad that the royal festivities had come to an end – when at half-past seven in the evening the earth began to tremble with horrible vibrations, changing their recent gayety into fear, horror, and lamentable perplexity. This first earthquake lasted a long time, so that it was feared that the last and fatal day for the sad city of Manila had arrived. The continuous and unequal vibrations of the ground; the frightful cracking of timbers; the [falling of] tiles from the roofs, and of stones which, loosened from the walls, came to the ground, raising great clouds of dust: all these made a most gloomy night, the image of death. Some hastened to seek confessors, and not finding them soon, published aloud their own sins. This first motion of the earth ceased, which people affirm to have been more violent than that of August 20, 1658, but it did not last so long; if it had been equal in duration to that one, it would have caused a large amount of havoc in the city of Manila.

It was worth much to the city that the earthquake found it greatly improved over former times in regard to the height of its buildings; for now they were reduced to more humble stature, and without the projections which would cause its greatest destruction, as has been experienced in previous earthquakes. The use of the *harigues* or wooden pillars

on which the heavy timber-work of the roofs leans and rests was recognized to be a sure protection and defense from such disasters; and therefore, although the earthquake demolished many buildings, breaking open the solid mass of masonry, they did not suffer entire ruin by being thrown down to the ground. Some few were destroyed through being old and in bad condition; but only one or two persons perished, and they of little account in the world. The kind-hearted governor went out with many followers to visit the [military] posts of the city, and aid, if he could, those who were in need; and the same was done by the *alcaldes-in-ordinary* and the *regidores*, accompanied by many citizens. The religious orders were well occupied in the ministries of their profession—some preaching from tables placed in the streets, others hastening to hear the confessions of those who asked for this sacrament, that is, of all. While all these were occupied in exercises so holy and pious, the trembling of the earth was again repeated many times; but, through the divine kindness, these vibrations were much slighter, continually diminishing—so that it seemed as if the divine anger were gradually being appeased, just as men were continually showing themselves more penitent. All that night until daybreak the earthquake shocks continued; for there were so many of them that one man counted forty, although to me it seemed as if there were many more. Many came out [from this calamity] crippled and lame; but all recognized that it was a miracle that the city had not been utterly destroyed with so repeated shocks. Later, it was ascertained that some chasms and air-vents in the earth had opened, and which is

surely the cause of these disturbances. One chasm opened in the bounds of the village of Bauang, in the province of Balayán; and another in the mountains of Gapang, in Pampanga. Those who arrived here after navigating the seas of these islands recounted the horrible perils in which they had found themselves, tossed by great billows and almost submerged in the swell which was caused in the sea by the earthquake; the sea even rose until, in many places, it swept over the land, occasioning great damage. With this slight mention I will close the sad account of the melancholy termination of these royal festivities.

The master-of-camp of these islands died, Don Agustín de Cepeda y Carracedo; he was a native of Talavera de la Reina, a relative of the glorious saint Teresa de Jesús, and more than eighty years of age. He was one of the most valiant soldiers who has belonged to these regions, and with that reputation he has been mentioned in this history in the greatest military exploits of his time, and in the government of Zamboanga and Ternate; and, what is his greatest glory, he was an excellent Christian, devout and charitable, and died with strong indications that he had been very earnestly such. For acting master-of-camp the governor appointed General Alonso López, a soldier of long standing, and also very aged; and therefore he did not long serve in that office.

Governor Don Francisco de Mansilla despatched the galleon for Nueva España, appointing as its commander his son, Don Felipe de Mansilla y Prado, a young man of much courage and ability, who at the time was serving in the post of sargento-

mayor of the Manila army, which is the second, in the esteem of military men, after that of master-of-camp. As sargento-mayor of the galleon he appointed Juan Ventura Sarra (the Catalan so famous for his successful surgical operations), on account of his being a man of much valor, and experienced in military service in Flandes and Cataluña. This galleon made a very prosperous voyage, both going and returning, as we shall see in the following chapter.

About the end of July in this year of 1678 came news that the galleon "San Telmo" had sighted these islands; it was under the command of General Don Tomás de Endaya, and had sailed for the port of Acapulco in the preceding year. It brought the proprietary governor, Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, a knight of the Order of Santiago; he was a native of Toledo, and nephew of the venerable mother Jerónima de la Asunción, foundress of the convent of Santa Clara in Manila – whose admirable life has been written by the father reader Fray Antonio de Leytona,⁷⁰ of the Observantine Order of St. Francis; and the investigations preliminary to her beatification have been begun. This knight had served many years in Flandes, Cataluña, and Extremadura, always with great commendation for his valor, which was as great as his nobility. He came with his wife, Doña Isabel de Ardila, a native of Badajoz; and brought in his company her uncle, a captain of cuirassiers, Don Francisco Guerrero y Ardila – a man of lofty stature, who, like another

⁷⁰ This should be Antonio de Letona; his book is entitled *Perfecta religiosa* (Puebla, Mexico, 1662). See our VOL. XXXVI, p. 189.

Saul, surpassed by the head and shoulders the tallest man in the Manila garrison – who showed that he possessed great valor. The new governor brought with him a numerous and brilliant retinue, and those who afterward attained most note were: his secretary, Miguel Sánchez Villanueva y Tejada, a man of great virtue, who came with his wife and three children, and afterward, having lost his wife, was ordained as a priest, and lived a long time an example for ecclesiastics, as before he had been one for laymen; Captains Don Juan Gallardo, Don Pedro Oriosolo, Don Jacinto Lobán, Don Tomás Martínez de Trillanes, Don Diego Vivien, Don Felipe Ceballos, Don José Armijo, Don Francisco Fabra, Don Antonio de Tabora, Don Juan Castel, Don Juan de Tricaldir, Don Manuel Alvarado; and others, all of whom served long in these islands. As fiscal for his Majesty came Licentiate Don Diego de Viga, a native of Bejar; he was afterward an auditor for many years, and was a very upright and disinterested official. The governor also brought some reinforcements of troops. The appointment of commandant of the castle of Santiago came to General Fernando de Bobadilla, who afterward was master-of-camp.

On the day of our Lady's nativity Don Juan de Vargas entered Manila, being received with great festivities; there were two ingenious triumphal arches, which were erected by the religious orders of our father St. Augustine and the Society, because both had their houses on the principal street through which the procession would pass. Don Juan began to govern with much prudence and desire to do well; he was very punctual in fulfilling his duties, and

never failed in his daily attendance on the sessions of the Audiencia (in which some governors had displayed much negligence); and therefore in his time the court business was despatched more promptly, for he found many suits unsettled and delayed. This is an insuperable difficulty in these islands, where the lawsuits are eternal and constitute a perpetual source of income for court reporters, secretaries, and commissioners⁷¹ – who, with the slow steps of judicial procedure, are continually plundering the litigants, until, impoverished or exhausted, they give up the suit, which is incorporated into a great mass of documents, which they call “Proceedings in lawsuits” [*autos*] in the archives of the court. Don Juan de Vargas was more fit for a soldier than for a governor; and gradually he looked with distaste on the duties of so arduous a post, and turned his attention to the means for securing his own advantage. The uncle of his wife, Don Francisco Guerrero de Ardila, became so much the master of Don Juan that, by his craftiness and great ability, he came to be the arbiter of the government. Accordingly, it was he who was governor, and he was the drayman who guided Don Juan de Vargas, while the latter, like a wagon, was carrying the weight of the government. Yet later Don Francisco Guerrero left him alone, and went to Nueva España, at so important a juncture that he met in the Embocadero the succeeding governor, Don Gabriel Crucelaegui, and Don Juan de Vargas in the residencia was laden with his own transgressions and those of others, as we shall

⁷¹ In text, *rectores*; but, as there is no meaning of that word that properly applies here, we conjecture it to be a typographical error for *receptores*.

see in due time. He had a great advantage for thus making himself arbiter of everything, in having more affability and more shrewdness than the governor, who was naturally harsh and unamiable and easily fretted. Accordingly, every one set on foot his claims with more confidence by the hand of the uncle, who, as all knew, was the fly-wheel for the movements of the government; and thus in a short time he secured following and applause, [although] without the formal marks of respect which belong to the dignity of a ruler; and he came to direct the entire government, with authority and without opposition. The authority of Don Francisco Guerrero was greatly increased because the governor had made him master-of-camp, because of the death of Alonso López, who died within a short time [after his appointment], at an advanced age; this increased Don Francisco's authority, and strengthened his influence over the governor. The servants [of the governor] made more effort to secure their own advantage than that of their master, and therefore Don Juan de Vargas found himself alone in everything that was not to the profit of the uncle and his familiars. He appointed as castellan and governor of Cavite Don Juan Gallardo; this is the most influential and profitable position that the governors of Filipinas have at their disposal – although at the present time his Majesty fills this office from Madrid; and in this way it was held more than twenty-eight years by Sargento-mayor Don Francisco de Atienza y Bañes, who died while holding the post of master-of-camp, in the year 1718. Another servant, Don Francisco Fabra, he appointed chief guard of the Parián, an office which affords great

opportunities and facilities for securing the best goods; and thus in this occupation he was, so to speak, the governor's agent, for which employ he had much ability.

Don Juan de Vargas, during his entire term of office, maintained trade and commerce with foreign nations, as those of the Coromandel coast, Bengal, and Surrate—which is the greatest emporium of Eastern India and of all the kingdoms subject to the emperor the Great Mogor [*i.e.*, Mogul], a monarch more powerful than the Great Turk, and without doubt more wealthy. From this emporium of Surrate almost every year come one or two ships of great burden, like those that are called “ships of the line,” laden with many and varied wares of Eastern India. Within the last few years these traders are Mahometans, although before they were heathens; this is because they were obliged to accept the cursed doctrine of Mahoma by the former Great Mogor, Payxa Ali Ramasticán—who, trained up in his early years (when he was a fugitive from his family) by the house of Meca, was the cause of the total perdition of so many souls; for it is easier to convert to our holy faith a thousand heathens than one Mahometan. Trade and commerce were also very freely carried on with the Portuguese of Macán, and through their agency in Nueva Batavia in the island of Jacatra, the capital of the rich factories which the Dutch possess throughout India—where of the former Portuguese dominion only their language is left, since with that they trade and traffic; for they have been deprived of the fortified posts, which promised some advantage and profit, leaving to them only Goa (for the interment

of Portuguese), and some posts to the north, such as Chaud, Dama, Diu, and Bassain. Only one who has seen it, as I have, can describe the great extent of every kind of trade which Manila enjoyed in the time of Don Juan de Vargas de Hurtado; and in that time, therefore, great fortunes were accumulated, and the city was adorned with magnificent edifices—the old ones being rebuilt, and new ones being erected, thus repairing the late havoc and destruction.

CHAPTER VI

[This is occupied with an account of the attempt made by the Augustinian Fray Juan de Rivera to go to the forbidden mission-field of Japan; it proved unsuccessful, and he was obliged to return to Manila.]

CHAPTER VII

On the day of the apostle James news came to Manila [in 1679] of the safe arrival of the galleon "San Telmo" at these islands, and of its being outside of the Embocadero; this news was brought, with the royal mails, by Sargento-mayor Juan Ventura Sarra. In this galleon came two large and well-selected mission bands of religious; one was composed of thirty-one from our order, conducted by father Fray Juan de García, who had been sent for this purpose in the year 1674. The other mission was composed of religious belonging to the Society of Jesus, who were brought by Father Francisco Salgado,⁷² a religious of great learning and virtue.

⁷² Francisco Salgado was a native of Galicia, born April 2, 1629. In 1648 he entered the Jesuit order, and in 1662, came

This mission [of ours] arrived at the most opportune time that could be imagined, for our province found itself in extreme necessity, on account of the scarcity of religious; for in ten years it had not received even the smallest reënforcement with which to replace them in the extensive and numerous ministries in its charge. So great was this lack that our province was already taking measures to give up some of those ministries; but all the religious orders and the secular clergy were suffering from the same need as was our province, on account of not having a consecrated bishop who might confer the holy orders. The ship "San Telmo" could not enter the Embocadero of San Bernardino, for it was hindered by the vendavals; and therefore it made port, after many hardships, in Palapag, in the province of Leyte – a very safe harbor, but outside of the Embocadero, and more than a hundred and twenty leguas distant from Manila. The religious of the mission came hither through the provinces of Camarines and Laguna de Bay; the roads were bad, for it was the rainy season, but the hardships of their journey were alleviated by the charitable hospitality which was given to them by the religious of St. Francis – who, heirs of that saint's seraphic love, vied with each other, on such occasions, in showing themselves true sons of so holy a father.

They arrived at Manila, where they were received by the community as sons beloved by their affection-

to the Philippines. For several years he was teacher in the college of Manila; and afterward rector at Silang. He went to Europe (about 1675?), and returned in 1679 with a mission band; he was rector of the Manila college, and twice provincial. He died at Manila on July 14, 1689. (Murillo Velarde, *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 357.)

ate mother, who was so eagerly expecting them; and on September 18 – the day of the father of the poor, St. Thomas of Villanova – a private meeting of the definitors was held, and they were received by this province as her sons.

In this private session father Fray Juan García declared under oath, *in verbo sacerdotis*, that, having kissed the feet of our most holy father Innocent XI on September 20, 1677, among other favors which his Holiness had granted him the latter had told him that by his apostolic authority he made good all the defects which might have occurred in the elections of this province, from its foundation until the said day. His Holiness granted him several jubilees for certain convents, and eleven thousand ordinary indulgences, in the new form which his Holiness has promulgated; and gave him two notable relics, a bone of St. Venturino the Martyr⁷³ – the first for the hospice at Méjico, and the other for the convent of San Pablo at Manila. Father Fray Juan García also obtained from his Holiness, on petition by this province, a bull in which he granted that all the procurators who may go to Rome and bring hither missions of religious shall enjoy the same exemptions which those possess who have been provincials (who are called *absolutos*); this was accepted [by the Council of Indias], and father Fray Juan García was the first who enjoyed this privilege, all his life. But he, as the devout religious that he was, would

⁷³ The MS. does not state what the other relic was, nor is it easy to ascertain; for the English in the latter part of the eighteenth century profaned the church of San Agustín at Manila, and took from it all the relics, in order to avail themselves of the silver of the reliquaries, and of the gold in which many of them were set. – FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

not allow the religious to address him as "Our Father," as is the custom with the provincials, both active and retired; and, retiring to the province of Ilocos, where he was minister, he devoted himself to leading an exemplary life, abandoning himself entirely to meditation, mortification, and prayer until his death, and leaving behind a noble example as a sincere religious.

[The rest of this chapter is occupied with the coming (in the "San Telmo") to Manila of Fernando de Valenzuela, the disgraced favorite of the queen-mother, and a sketch of his career in Spain. The last paragraph reads thus:] Don Juan de Vargas, learning of his arrival, and that he was already coming by land through the province of Camarines, sent to escort him General Don Francisco Enriquez de Losada and Captain Alfonso de Castillo; they conveyed him to the port of Cavite and the fortress of San Felipe. In that place a house was built for him, of timber, according to his taste and plan, with all possible conveniences; and there he lived—at the beginning, with much strictness, watched by sentinels, and receiving few visits; but afterward with more freedom, and visited by everyone, but always in the presence of Captain Juan de Herrera, the warden's deputy. In this seclusion Don Fernando made use of his great mental ability, employing for his recreation the many talents which he possessed, especially in music and poetry; for in both these arts he had no equal in España. With the news which came by way of the coast of the death of Don Juan of Austria, the severities which, while he lived, had been employed toward Don Ferdinand were mitigated; and the prisoner enjoyed so much

diversion and company that in these regions he could not have had more. Every month he was allowed a thousand pesos from the royal treasury, which was sufficient for his support and comforts, and for the expenses of the amusements which his cleverness and ingenuity devised for his recreation. I have taken more time than I should in this narration (which might pass for a mere ornament of my proper task), because this gentleman was much devoted to us – although he had received from us and from the Society of Jesus (to whom he acknowledged his obligations) much assistance in his seclusion and in certain difficulties which he had experienced. The rest of his fortunes I will relate in the proper place, when we reach the termination of the ten years of his retirement, his return to Nueva España, and finally his death. The author of the additions to Father Juan de Mariana's *Historia general de España*,⁷⁴ at the end of the second volume, speaks very sharply and indignantly of this gentleman, and as he might speak of a wicked highwayman or of a cruel Nero. He certainly was wrong, for Don Fernando de Valenzuela was very zealous in the

⁷⁴ Juan de Mariana (1536-1624) was one of the most noted writers among the Spanish Jesuits. The work here referred to is that which he published originally in Latin, *Historiæ de rebus Hispaniæ libri XXV* (Toleti, 1592), which carried the history of the Spanish monarchy down to 1516. His own Spanish version of this work, enlarged and corrected, appeared at Toledo, 1601. Other writers continued this history to 1649 and 1669; and the last of these was extended to 1678 by Felix Lucio de Espinosa y Malo (Madrid, 1678). This work has had many editions, translations, and criticisms – for which see Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque Comp. de Jesus*. One of Mariana's works, *De rege et regis institutione* (Toleti, 1599), was censured by the Parliament of Paris and publicly burned by the executioner in 1610; and the French court asked the Spanish government to suppress it, which request was refused.

service of his king, and his power and influence in the government were very beneficial to the monarchy, as after his fall was recognized by all, even his greatest enemies. But flattery⁷⁵ must have mended the pen for him, so that in this matter he might show himself very prejudiced. Let the name of that writer be his apology, for it was Don So-and-so [Fulano] Malo. The posthumous fame of Don Fernando de Valenzuela, however, will not be obscured by his errors.

CHAPTER VIII

The government of Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado proceeded with prosperous results, on account of the favorable seasons and the great abundance of the crops which were experienced in the years 1679 and 1680; and through the success and extent of the commerce which was maintained with China and the Coromandel coast, Surrate, and other ports of Oriental India and the kingdoms of the Great Mogor – which formerly were more than fifteen in number, and furnished much income to the royal treasury with the customs duties [*derecho de almojarifazgo*]. Not only from the Coromandel coast – on which the Manila trade had founded populous settlements, as Portonovo and Cololu – but from the city of Goa came ships almost every year, a commerce little known [to Manila] before, and very remote. The governor devoted much attention to the sessions of the Audiencia and the obligations of his office, and thus the legal business which devolved upon that court was expedited, through the upright-

⁷⁵ That is, the writer's desire to flatter some influential persons who were enemies of Valenzuela.



Map of eastern islands; photographic facsimile of map in Coronelli's
Atlante Veneto (Venetia, 1696)
[From original copy in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris]

ness and integrity of the auditors, Don Francisco Mansilla, Don Diego Calderón, and Don Diego de Viga; the last named filled the office of fiscal acceptably to all.

About this time there came to the general a solemn embassy from the principal ruler of Borneo, whom those people revere as an emperor. This is the largest island of all Asia, and, according to the best cosmographers, has as great an area as all España and the kingdom of Portugal. It is thinly populated, as its surface is very mountainous; and therefore it is only on the shores of the sea and a few leguas inland that there are settlements of civilized people, if that name can be given to those barbarous nations. Borneo has much wax, and in its seas are pearl-fisheries; it abounds in amber, camphor, and gold; and in its mountains are found large elephants, although smaller than those of Siám. Its inhabitants are partly Mahometans, partly heathens; but in color and disposition they resemble the natives of Filipinas, who say that they had their origin in these islands of Borneo [and] the coast of Malayo. The ambassador was received with more ostentation than his person seemed to merit. Although he was corpulent and robust, he and all his retinue (which was not a small one) came barefooted and half-naked; he wore a broad *bahaque*, which tired him more than it covered him, and some wore a loose jacket, short and without a shirt (which is not known among these peoples); but all were well armed with lances and crises—which are swords as short as daggers, with which they are well able to defend themselves or attack, for usually they have these weapons dipped in poison. He made his entry [into the city] with

great pomp, in the coach and with the halberdiers of the governor, and accompanied by the sargento-mayor of the garrison, Don José de Robles; and the governor received him under a canopy, as being he who represented the royal person. The ambassador's credentials came in the Malayan language, written in Arabic characters; these were interpreted by the Borneans themselves, and by a Ternatan named Pedro Machado. The object of the embassy, they said, was to establish trade and commerce on both sides, and to adjust some disputes over the limits of the island of Paragua and in regard to some hostile acts which had been committed in the lands of Borney by Alcalde-mayor Don José de Somonte, in vengeance for the injuries which the Camucones had inflicted in our islands. Everything was settled to the satisfaction of both parties, and the ambassador returned well content and handsomely entertained, with a valuable present for his king in return for another (and very ordinary) one which he had brought. In the following year, the governor sent in turn an ambassador, General Don Juan de Morales Valenzuela, a man of gallant nature and tall stature, with a very goodly escort of Spaniards. He was very hospitably received by the king of Borney, in a large pavilion of bamboo and nipa, which was erected for this solemn function; and the king allowed himself to be seen by all his vassals, a favor which, they say, is very rare in that royalty. Don Juan de Morales returned very successful, the king ceding to the Spaniards dominion over all the island of Paragua, and making satisfaction for the ravages by the Camucones; and since then we have remained very good friends [with the Borneans].

All the three years' term of our father provincial Fray Juan de Jeréz was very peaceable, our order and the observance of our rules flourishing in this province, which continually increased in prosperity through the opportune measures which this judicious and devout prelate employed; for certainly he was one of the most observant superiors it had had, and it made great advancement in every way during the time of his government.

At last the time for the chapter-session arrived, and when the voting fathers from the four provinces were assembling, with great peace and harmony, suddenly a storm arose, which they feared would occasion the destruction of peace within the order, and produce divisions and contentions very difficult to adjust; and from which might originate great losses to the religious and their ministries. The trouble was this: some of the religious who were born in Nueva España, and others born in these islands, where they had assumed the habit of our order, attempted to renew the old controversy over the alternate elections⁷⁶ – which arose in the year 1637, as we have related in book ii, chapter 26 – incited to this by having found a copy of the first bull of Gregory XV, and the royal decree for its passage by the supreme Council of the Indias, attested by Don Diego Núñez Crespo, at that time court secretary of the royal Audiencia. With this slight foundation, without heeding that the matter had already been decided by apostolic authority – by the legate of his Holiness, that is, the archbishop of

⁷⁶ The alternation [*alternativa*] of the elections consisted in this, that during one triennium the offices were held by natives of Spain, and during the next one by those born in the Indias. – FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

Manila who was then in office – according to the bull of his Holiness Urban VIII, issued “at Castel Gandolfo, diocese of Albano, May 18, 1634” (of which they probably were not aware), [they made this claim]. They had on their side many citizens of Manila, and employed as their leader Doctor Don José Cervantes Altamirano, a cleric in minor orders – who afterward was married, and at his death was alcalde-mayor of the Parián of the Sangleys, and chief clerk of the cabildo and municipality of Manila; he had a very keen mind, and with that he would, if he had been master and disciple of himself, have made a great jurisconsult.

They appointed as judge-executor Master Jerónimo Fernández Caravallo, cura of the village of Quiapo, a priest of little ability and easily influenced. This man accepted the commission with much pleasure, believing that it would bring him honor and profit; and he therefore set up his tribunal, and appointed as his secretary Bachelor Martín Díaz, cura of the natives and Morenos in Manila. At once he sent this man to notify the provincial, Fray Juan de Jeréz, of the said bull of Gregory XV; but the provincial would not accept the notification, not recognizing Master Caravallo as a judge until he should establish his right as such before a competent tribunal, and because this proceeding found him unprepared, and with little knowledge of this controversy, because neither official documents nor information about it were found in the archives of the province. Investigations were made, and the original documents were found in the archiepiscopal tribunal; and an authentic transcript of these was found in a writing-desk which stood in the cell of

the provincials, of which the key could not be found, and it served only as an ornament. In the said desk was also found the above-mentioned bull of Urban VIII, with which and the acts issued in the year 1657 the procurator-general (who was the writer of this history) presented himself before his Lordship Don Fray Felipe Pardo of the Order of Preachers, the archbishop-elect and ruler of this archbishopric, as being the legate appointed by his Holiness Urban VIII to render decision and sentence in this question. He looked at the bull and declared himself judge, and as such examined the documents, with the assistance of his counselor the father presentado Fray Raimundo Verart of the same order, a doctor in both branches of law from the university of Lérída. They found that this controversy was already authoritatively decided,⁷⁷ and with the lapse of forty-three years had become established as a matter of law; that there was not the least room for the claim made by the fathers of the Indias; and that the province possessed the same right as before of making its choice [of officers] freely, without respect of persons. Upon the litigant religious—who had taken refuge in, and by order of the royal Audiencia were committed to, the college of the Society of Jesus and the convent of San Francisco—was imposed perpetual silence; and with censures they were commanded to return to their convents, and to follow what obedience should direct to them. They did so, and there was no farther discussion of this matter; for in the following chapter-meeting attention was given to consoling them. Those who

⁷⁷ Spanish, *pasado en autoridad de cosa juzgada* (equivalent to the Latin *res adjudicata*).

made amends for all were the judge-executor, Master Jerónimo Caravallo, and Bachelor Martín Díaz, whom the archbishop punished with pecuniary fines for not having first appeared before him with their commission, and for having erected a tribunal without his permission. But intercession was made for them on the part of our province, and their fines were diminished. Information of the affair was given to our very reverend father general, Fray Domingo Valvasorio, of Milan, who commanded that the religious who had been the movers of this innovation (which might so greatly have disturbed the peace of this province) be punished; and again imposed silence regarding the claim to alternation; but the whole matter was adjusted, for at the end the order, like a mother, must regard them as her sons.

The time for the chapter-session arrived, which was May 11, 1680, at the convent in Manila; its president, by commission from our father general already named, was our father Fray José Duque; and father Fray Diego de Jesús, prior of the convent of Pasig, was elected provincial, to the satisfaction of all, by the unanimous vote of all the fathers in the chapter. He was a zealous religious, very observant, and enamored of poverty; and had great learning, prudence, and discretion. He was fifty-eight years of age, a native of Béjar in Extremadura, and a son of the convent at Salamanca — where, and in that of San Felipe at Madrid, he had been for many years master of the novices. He came to this province in the year 1669, as has already been said, influenced [to come] at so great an age by scruples at having excused himself in the year 1660 from coming as commissary for the mission which reached this

province in the year of 1663, by the appointment given to him by our very reverend father general Master Fray Pablo Luquino, who was then visiting the provinces of España. The definitors appointed were fathers Fray Juan Ponce, Fray Carlos Bautista, Fray Pedro Martínez, and Fray Álvaro de Benavente. Father Fray José Camello and the father reader Fray Juan Martínez were present as visitors from the previous triennium; and for the present one were appointed father Fray Juan Guedeja and the father reader Fray Miguel Rubio. As procurator for going to España was appointed father Fray Manuel de la Cruz, a native of Toledo, and a son of the convent of Badaya; and they elected him definitor of this province for the next general chapter to be held, and agreed upon⁷⁸ the choice of a discreet for the said general chapter.⁷⁹ This choice was so judicious that to it is due the conservation and advancement of this province, for he fulfilled so carefully the obligation of his commission that he conducted to Nueva España three

⁷⁸ Spanish, *se comprometió*. With us elections sometimes go by *compromissum*; that is, where no result is secured as usual by close ballot the chapter designate a committee to nominate some person, usually with the pledge that the chapter will afterward elect him, and thus ratify the committee's choice.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

⁷⁹ Among the voters at provincial and general chapters are two classes especially designated by provinces or convents to represent the entire community; these are the definitors and the discreets (VOL. XXXIV, p. 419). The conventual discreet is chosen for the provincial chapter, and is elected by all the voters of a house in chapter assembled. The discreet-general is chosen for the general chapter, by the provincial chapter. At the general chapter every province is entitled to representation by three voters—the provincial, the definitor, and the discreet. At provincial chapter every large house, or convent, is entitled similarly to representation by two voters, the priors and the discreet (there is no definitor for a house).—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

mission bands – the largest and most distinguished that this province has gained, for in all they contained over fifty religious – the first in the year 1684, the second in 1699 and 1700, and the third in 1712.⁸⁰ He himself remained in Mexico, where he died with the reputation of great virtue, at the age of seventy-four years, in 1712.

It was decided in this chapter to ask our very reverend father general to extinguish the votes of the discreet of the convent at Manila, and those of the priors of the convents of Hagonoy and San Pablo de los Montes in the provinces of Tagalos, Mexico in Pampanga, Narvacán in Ilocos, and Dumarao in the province of Panay – on account of the usual scarcity of religious, and the deficiency which might be caused, by their absence while at the chapter, in Ilocos and Bisayas, provinces which are so remote. The other arrangements and ordinances which were made in this chapter publish its great zeal for promoting the regular observance, and the flourishing condition of that observance in this province.

Governor Don Juan de Vargas despatched for Nueva España the galleon “San Antonio,” under command of General Don Francisco Enríquez de Losada, then accountant of the royal exchequer; and in this galleon went the father procurator Fray Manuel Losada, and in his company father Fray Miguel de Negrea – a son of the convent of San

⁸⁰ There must be some error in the text – probably made in the transcriptions of Diaz’s manuscript for publication – for Pérez says (*Catálogo*, p. 140) that these missions contained 160 religious. The father here named is mentioned a little below as Manuel Losada, which name (although it does not appear in Pérez) was probably his baptismal and family name, the other being that assumed by him on entering the order.

Felipe, and native of that city [*i.e.*, Madrid]; he was going back to his own province, and died on the voyage, in the high northern latitude. The voyage was a very distressing one, on account of the severe tempests which suddenly came upon them; and many of those on board died, not only seamen but passengers. A better voyage was that of the galleon "Santa Rosa," which had sailed the preceding year by the same route from Nueva España, in charge of General Antonio Nieto; for on the morning of the day of St. John the Baptist it entered the bay of Manila, to the great joy of those who were watching it, and anchored at the port of Cavite – a good fortune which seldom has been enjoyed in these islands since the banishment of Don Fray Hernando Guerrero, in the year 1635, as we have with sadness related. In this galleon came Don Fray Diego de Aguilar, of the Order of Preachers, a native of Rioseco, as consecrated bishop of Zebú; for several years he had been detained in Nueva España. He brought in his company father Fray Manuel de Olivares, of the same order, who afterward was provincial of the province of Méjico; his nephew, Captain Don Juan de Urías; and other Spaniards. His arrival occasioned great rejoicing, on account of these islands having remained so many years destitute of a consecrated bishop, and many clerics and regulars were waiting to receive holy orders.

In this galleon arrived three religious belonging to the mission of father Fray Juan García; they were choristers, and had been left in Nueva España, to be ordained as priests, and their names are as follows: father Fray Francisco Castrillón, a native of Madrid, and son of the convent of San Felipe; he

was twenty-four years old, and had spent nine in the order. He was a minister in Tagalos until the year 1690, when he returned to Méjico, where he died soon afterward. Father Fray Dionisio Navarro, a native of Leganés, and a son of the same convent of San Felipe; he was twenty-four years old, and had spent seven in the order. He was a good preacher, and well versed in the dialects of the province of Tagalos. He went to España and returned hither, and died in the convent of Manila from a long and painful infirmity, on November 2, 1714. Father Fray Antonio Gutiérrez, a native of Medina Sidonia, and a son of the province of Andalucía. For only a short time he was a minister in Tagalos, because he soon fell ill with a contraction of the tendons [*tullimiento*], which lasted until his death; this occurred at Manila, in the year 1693.

The arrival of this bishop of Zebú served as a great spiritual consolation for these islands; for he repeatedly performed pontifical functions, conferring holy orders on a great number of religious and clerics. He interceded with the governor, in order to reconcile with him those who had taken refuge in the churches through fear of some oppression from the absolute power of the governor – which can not be compared with any other power in the universe; and the worst is, that no means can be thought of for moderating and tempering it within the bounds of reason, because the distance of five thousand leguas which lies between the royal court of Madrid and Filipinas cannot be diminished. The swiftest post, therefore, requires three years, and most of them four; and if it happens that the galleon is obliged to put back to port, the mail is delayed to five or six

years. At the end of so protracted a term as this, the most peremptory royal rescript is exposed to the danger of being withheld by the governor, according to his pleasure. The lord bishop with his intercession withdrew from asylum in the house of the Society of Jesus the secretary of Don Juan de Vargas, Captain Miguel Sánchez de Villanueva y Tejada, and restored him to favor with his master – although soon afterward the governor removed him from his service, making him alcalde-mayor of Laguna de Bay.

About this time the convent of Angat in the mountains of the province of Bulacán was received, with the title of our mother St. Mónica, and father Fray Juan de Morelos was appointed its prior. It was composed of the visitas of the convent of Quingua – Tabuquillo, Abarungco, Catalonan, Guinapusan, and Santa Lucía – which, on account of being very distant from Quingua, were administered with much difficulty; and therefore the ministry of Angat was founded, more than three leguas distant from [the convent of] Santiago at Quingua. It has ordinarily two hundred and fifty tributes, with a church and convent of wood. The district is very healthful and pleasant, because the land is fertilized by a river of the best water that is known in these islands; it is the river celebrated by the name of Quingua, the waters of which, compared with many others, have been found to weigh less. This mission is bounded on every side by very fertile meadows, on which abundant harvests of excellent tobacco are gathered; for this reason it is thickly settled with people who cultivate this plant, which is so esteemed throughout the world, and which now has made its way to the

chief personages therein. This district has forests, although they are scattered, of heavy and valuable timber; for they are very dense, and so extensive that they join those of Balete and San Matéo, at a distance of more than eight leguas. In the district of this ministry the religious of St. John of God possess a fine ranch stocked with cattle and horses, which is the most that they have for the support of their convent and hospital at Manila, where they aid the sick poor with their usual charity. The convent of Angat has no vote in the chapter-meetings, and therefore is counted in the number of the vicariates of this province.

Although the citizens of Manila are not easy to please, no matter how good their governors are, it appears that in the time of which we write they had much reason to be discontented with the government of Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado; for not only did he devote himself excessively to his own personal interests, to the detriment of the commonwealth, but he was of a harsh and unpleasant nature, and gave sharp answers. Besides this he spoke in a treble voice, and people heard him with difficulty. He kept every one angered at his harsh behavior, and disgusted by his being engrossed with the pursuit of gain. This was recognized in the lading of the galleons, which is the net of the merchants; and in this year [of 1680] the galleon "San Antonio" was in danger of not making the voyage, on account of its being so overloaded by his henchman Don Juan Gallardo, the castellan of Cavite – not only with his own goods, but with those of his master the governor – that its commander, Don Tomás de Endaya, was compelled to unload the vessel and return to lade

it anew, accommodating the entire cargo to the vessel's capacity. On account of these and other well-known animosities against the governor and his retainers, the citizens this year determined to inform his Majesty against him; and they did so, the auditors and the city uniting for this purpose and making charges against him. They sent letters, with great caution, in this galleon; and these papers caused his removal in the year 1684.

About October of this year the governor sent to Macán General Antonio Nieto, in order to settle some disputes relative to commerce; he accomplished this with much discretion, his excellent procedure reflecting credit on the Castilian nation. He also, with great charity, relieved many cases of necessity, which in the said city are very numerous; but this was done without injuring one iota of the Portuguese tenacity and pride, in which that people exceed all others in Europa.

CHAPTER IX

[This chapter describes a remarkable comet which was visible in the islands from the middle of November, 1680, to February 14, 1681; and relates at much length the condition of the Chinese empire at that time, and the founding of Augustinian missions therein. Of this matter, we retain only the description of the comet and its course.]

The frightful comet [was] so large that it extended, like a very wide belt, from one side of the horizon to the other, with but little difference [in its breadth], causing in the darkness of the night nearly as much light as the moon in her quadrature. The course of this comet was, like those of the

planets, a rapid one from east to west, so that every day it disappeared and was hidden. The other movement was a retrograde one, so that it moved from west to east three or four degrees, and sometimes more than five, each day, at times less. This movement lasted from November 20 until February 14, 1681, in which time it passed through the signs of Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces, and Aries—passing the equator from the south, from the handle of Libra and Ophiuchus [*Serpentario*]. It crossed the ecliptic and southern solstice, and through the constellation Antinous to the tail of the Dolphin, to the tail of the Little Horse [*i.e.*, Equellus], and the breast of Pegasus, and thence to the head of Andromeda; and it passed over the equator at 310° from the point of Aries. Its magnitude was frightful, for its circumference and head [*i.e.*, of the coma and nucleus] was two thousand one hundred and four leguas; and its magnitude was equal to that of Mercury, which is nineteen times larger than the earth. Its tail reached, on January 8, an extent of seventy-five degrees, which at its distance made 1,437,919 leguas. It was a celestial comet, and not elemental;⁸¹ and according to its parallax it was in the celestial quarter distant from us 1,150 semidiameters or halves of the line which we regard as crossing the center⁸²—

⁸¹ *No elemental*; that is, it was not nebulous—as our astronomers at this time say, arrogating to themselves this discovery, which evidently was not unknown to those of earlier times.—FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

⁸² Roughly estimating from the date here given, it seems probable that the line here mentioned refers to the diameter of the earth. Although that diameter had not been exactly measured at that time, a long step toward this had been taken by Picard of France, who in 1671 made the first really valuable measure of

which, according to the measurement of Father José Zaragoza, a distinguished mathematician of the Society of Jesus, are 1,153,000 leguas, which was its apogee. Its movement was 7,458 times as swift as the velocity of a cannon-ball weighing twelve libras, which, according to those who are curious, travels in each minute, or sixtieth part of an hour, two-thirds of a legua. This comet was visible throughout the world, giving rise to much discussion over its effects, which in truth were generally very evil. On the second of January it passed the parallel of our zenith. These observations were made by Father Eusebius Kino,⁸⁸ a German, of the Society of Jesus – a mathematician of the university of Ingolstadt, a missionary in California – while he was in Méjico; and he printed them, with a dedication to our Lady of Guadalupe.

the arc of a meridian, a measure which Isaac Newton used in verifying his idea of gravitation. The ambiguous manner in which the line is mentioned by the writer (supposedly Kino, as cited by Diaz) was probably due to cautious dread lest ecclesiastical penalties be visited on the too definite statement of scientific discoveries; for at that time Mexico was dominated by the Inquisition, by which tribunal the great Galileo had been imprisoned less than fifty years before Kino made these observations. The course of this comet can easily be verified, after making due allowance for the precession of the equinoxes, on any map of the constellations. Information for this note is furnished by Albert S. Flint, astronomer of Washburn Observatory, University of Wisconsin.

⁸⁸ Eusebius Kino (or Chino) was a noted mathematician and explorer. Born near Trent in 1644, he entered the Jesuit order at the age of twenty-one, and in 1678 came to America. He soon devoted himself to the California missions, and explored and mapped a large extent of country in Mexico and Lower California. He died at Magdalena, March 15, 1711.

CHAPTER X

General Antonio Nieto returned from Macán, leaving the affairs of the commerce with these islands regulated, as well as the entrance of missionaries into China by that door—although it never has been assured, because the Portuguese allege that such entrance is opposed to the right of patronage of their king, with other absurdities which only excite a smile; for it is a fact that many of the more southern provinces of China fall within the demarcation of Castilla, in proof of which not much mathematics is needed. Moreover, the Portuguese do not hold a palmo of conquered land on which they have erected churches, or founded bishoprics, with the right of patronage; for in that very city of Macán the emperor of China possesses as much authority as in Cantón, and they pay him customs, duties and other royal tributes. And within that same city, while General Antonio Nieto was there, an incident occurred which would cause shame [even] to a nation less Catholic than the Portuguese, whom no other people outdo in that respect.

In that city the Chinese make their idolatrous processions, and commit other abominations, as they do in every other part of their lands. It happened that in one of these processions, at that time, they carried an idol, a figure of a beautiful woman with a child in her arms, whom they call Sanpuerstsa; this is the idol to which they pay most devotion, for they call her “Mother of Mercy.” This confirms what is told by the traditions in China, which declare that our holy faith was preached in that country; and that when it was forgotten some images of saints remained which were made idols. Captain Nicolás Pérez

looked closely at the idols, and asked a Chinaman in the procession what image that was; and the Chinaman replied, "Here, like St. Mary at Manila." Nicolás Pérez, hearing this, raised his hand, and gave the Chinaman a heavy blow in the face. The procession was thrown into confusion, and the Chinese and the whole city disturbed; the aggressor was seized; and it cost Nicolás Pérez and General Nieto many pesos and much effort to leave the Chinese satisfied, and the Portuguese free from their fear that their city and all their royal patronage would be destroyed.

When Antonio Nieto returned to Manila, he was accompanied by three clerics who came to be ordained as priests, as at that time they had no bishop in Macán. One was Antonio Melo, the son of a rich Portuguese of much repute in Macán named Basco Barbosa; and the others were people of the country, that is, mestizos of Portuguese and Chinese blood. They were ordained by the bishop of Zebú, Don Fray Diego de Aguilar; and soon afterward they returned to Macán in a patache belonging to that city, accompanied by two priests of the Society of Jesus, mathematicians, who had come in the year 1679 with Father Francisco Salgado, assigned by their general to the mission of China. This vessel sailed about October, which is the time of the monsoon that is unfavorable to this voyage; and no information whatever has been received about it, or how or where it was lost, although great efforts have been made for this by the citizens of Macán.

[Here follows an account of a punitive expedition against the Zambals, which we have already given; see VOL. XXXVIII, pp. 226-228.]

The galleon "San Antonio," which had sailed in

the previous year in charge of General Don Francisco Enrique de Losada, reached Acapulco, although it encountered heavy gales in the high latitudes, and returned prosperously to these islands. It had not the good-fortune to come in as far as the point of Cavite (a piece of luck which seldom occurs), on account of the vendavals having set in steadily; and therefore it made port in Solsogón. In this galleon came the following persons: The father master Don Fray Ginés Barrientos, of the Order of Preachers, and preacher to his Majesty, consecrated as bishop of Troya, to be assistant for the archbishopric of Manila. He was a son of the convent of Peña de Francia, and native of a place in Sayago called Barroco Pardo; he was a very learned scholastic, a great preacher, and a very observant religious. The father master Don Fray Juan Durán, of the Order of Mercy, and a native of Lima; he came as consecrated bishop of Sinopolis, and assistant to the bishop of Zebú; he was very learned, and of very handsome figure and lofty stature. The entreaties of his Majesty had obtained from his Holiness these two auxiliary bishops, with two thousand pesos of income from his royal treasury, and with the right of future succession to assume the government of the vacant sees as they might occur. They brought the bulls and pallium for the archbishop Don Fray Felipe Pardo, who in virtue of these was consecrated on October 28; this was performed by the bishop of Zebú, Don Fray Diego de Aguilar and the bishop of Troya, with the assistance of the dean, Master Don Miguel Ortiz de Covarrubias, who carried the mitre.

Presentation came as bishop of Nueva Segovia to Doctor Don Francisco Pizarro de Orellana, the archdeacon of Manila, and a native of that city; [the see was vacant] by the death of Master Don Lucas de Arqueros de Robles, a native of Vigan in Ilocos; and a son of Lorenzo Arqueros, so renowned in the revolt of the Zambals and in their destructive raid into Ilocos. [The said archdeacon] was a priest of lofty virtue, the fame of which had secured for him this dignity – which he did not enjoy, as he lived but a short time, and died before the bulls for his consecration arrived.

[Others also] arrived: Doctor Don Cristóbal Herrera Grimaldos, a native of Méjico – who was a professor in the university there, and dean of the faculty of law, and had been counselor of the archbishop of Méjico, the viceroy of Nueva España, Don Fray Payo de Rivera, of the order of our father St. Augustine – who came as auditor of this royal Audiencia of Manila. Doctor Don Pedro Sebastián de Bolívar y Mena, a native of Méjico – a son of Licentiate Don Juan de Bolívar y Cruz, a former auditor of Manila [*sic*] and Clementina⁸⁴ professor – also an auditor of this royal Audiencia. Also Doctor Don Lorenzo Esteban de la Fuente Alanis, a native of Murcia – a professor in Granada and Sevilla, and competitor for positions in Salamanca – as fiscal of the Audiencia. All were able lawyers, and the fiscal not only surpassed the rest, but was

⁸⁴ One of the collections of canon law is called "Clementinas" (see VOL. XXV, p. 226): they were compiled out of the canons of the Council of Vienne (1316) and some of his own constitutions. (Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 106.) The father of Bolívar had apparently held the clementina chair of canon law in a university.

very skilful in music; and he excelled all who had been here in the rare art of playing well the guitar [*vihuela*],⁸⁵ an instrument handled by many, but understood only by him. Besides these came Licentiate Don Miguel de Lanama Altamirano, an advocate of this royal Audiencia; he was a married man, as also were the auditors, and they brought their wives with them. Don Miguel was a lawyer of much ability, and held important positions in his profession. An appointment came for Don Francisco Montemayor y Mansilla as alcalde for criminal cases in Méjico; he sailed for that country in the second year, with his son, Don Felipe Mansilla Prado, and died on the voyage. His son is still living – a knight of the Order of Santiago – as also is Father Antonio Mansilla, of the Society of Jesus.

The bishop of Troya was accompanied by father Fray Alonso García, a native of Tamañes in Sayago, a religious of the order of our father St. Augustine, who had been left in Mexico, belonging to the mission of the year 1679; he was a son of the convent at Ciudad Rodrigo, and was twenty-five years old; he was a minister in Tagalos, and died in the convent at Bulacán, in the year 1704. [With him was] also father Fray José de Andrada, a Portuguese, a native of Lisboa, and a son of the congregation of Eastern India. Having spent several years in this province, and desiring to be adopted into it, but not being able

⁸⁵ The *vihuela* (or *viguela*) was the ancient form of the guitar, or something between it and the violin. It is mentioned as in use, in a poem of the fourteenth century. There were *vihuelas de penola* and *vihuelas de arco* – the former played with a *plectrum*, the latter with a bow. Later, the *vihuela* merged entirely into the guitar. (H. E. Watts, in note on his edition of *Don Quixote* [London, 1895], iv, p. 85.)

to secure that privilege for lack of the consent and permission of his Majesty and of our very reverend general, he went by land to Roma and Madrid – going to Surrate, and thence to Alepo and Venecia – and obtained a warrant from our father general, and a decree from his Majesty, ordaining that he be received into this province, but with a clause which stated that this should not be regarded as a precedent. This religious was an excellent minister in the province of Ilocos, where he died at an advanced age in the year 1705. He deserves that record be made of him, since his adoption into this province cost him so many peregrinations and hardships; for to obtain it he made the entire circuit of the terraqueous globe.

This galleon brought one of the best and most copious reënforcements of soldiers that had been received here; for they numbered more than three hundred Europeans, and came from Nueva España, without the stigma of being convicts or men taken from the jails.⁸⁶ This accession was very timely for filling up the military forces in Manila, which was accomplished by removing many colored men and replacing them by Spaniards; for in this Don Juan de Vargas took great pains, showing himself an able soldier. Thus in the time of no governor since Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera was the garrison of Manila in so fine a condition as in that of Don Juan

⁸⁶ "Much difficulty was found in raising the required force for the Philippine Islands. Many of the soldiers dreading the climate would desert before reaching Acapulco, and new schemes had to be devised for raising recruits. Thus in 1677 all criminals willing to enlist were pardoned, and 125 pesos a year given them as pay. Still, only a small number could be induced to accept this offer." (Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii, p. 185.)

de Vargas. The baton of master-of-camp was given to General Don Fernando de Bobadilla (who was castellan of Santiago), in place of Don Francisco de Ardilla [*sic*], who held it *ad interim*. The scene began to change with the coming of so many bishops and of auditors and lawyers – an event which, it seems, tended rather to augment the forces so that the shock of battle might be more violent and fierce for both sides, the winds again returning for the fearful commotions which were to disturb the peace and tranquillity which the commonwealth of Manila had enjoyed. For although the government of Don Juan de Vargas did not prove to be what the citizens of Manila desired, on account of his natural harshness and his excessive devotion to his own private interests, nevertheless, as he did not rob any one of anything, and was only a hindrance to the merchants gaining the profits of the trade more to their own satisfaction; and as, on the other hand, the islands were in a flourishing condition, the commerce with China and India was very firmly established, and wealth was not diminishing, there was [something] for all if their desires were not excessive, and for the governor more than all together. But, as covetousness is the root of all evils, . . . from this resulted the greatest troubles and calamities.

Time had passed agreeably for the people with some festivities that were celebrated at the dedication of the church of Santa Potenciana, on May 19, which were very diverting and ingenious. There were poetical competitions, which were arranged for that celebration by the cleverness of Don José de Castellar, who had been the secretary of Governor Don Manuel de León – at whose

posthumous expense had been rebuilt that church and royal seminary. In these exercises the geniuses that are in Filipinas showed that in that remotest corner of the world is hidden much that could shine in the principal courts of Europa; for the poems that were presented therein, both Latin and Castilian, might have been a credit to the leading universities. And certainly there was verified the saying and opinion of some critics who assert that Filipinas is composed of quintessences,⁸⁷ for many of these are found there, not only of good but of evil; and therefore in the pulpits as well as in theology (both scholastic and moral) there never lack stars of the first magnitude; and in all the rest "a hair is cut in the air,"⁸⁸ as the common saying goes.

The first misfortune which was felt was the return to port of the galleon "Santa Rosa," in command of General Tomás de Endaya; it is these losses which are most deeply felt, since all are interested in the prosperous voyages of the galleons; and it is one of the greatest troubles of these islands, if not the worst, that all are dependent on two bits of wood,⁸⁹ and those entrusted to the fickleness of the sea – the one that goes [to Acapulco], and the other that is expected.

⁸⁷ Spanish, *quintas esencias* (English, "quintessences"); referring to the notion in alchemy of a fifth or last and highest essence or power in a natural body.

⁸⁸ Spanish, *se parte un pelo en el aire*; an idiomatic expression (also written *cortar* or *hender un cabello*), signifying the possession of great penetration, keenness, dexterity; quick perception, much perspicacity. Cf. the common phrases, "to fish for things in the air," "to catch them while flying," etc. (Dominguez). The saying perhaps originated in the ability of a good swordsman to cut a hair in two instantly with his sword.

⁸⁹ Spanish, *dos palos*; meaning the two wooden ships used for the Acapulco trade, which was the sole support of the colony.

The sad news of its return came late in December, about Christmas, and caused general sorrow. The year 1682 began with the melancholy feeling which was inspired by seeing that we were deprived for that year of having a galleon from Nueva España, which is the artery that communicates the blood and the life for the preservation of these isolated islands – that is, the silver which, like a lodestone, attracts the most remote nations to the commerce and trade; and by the lack of the silver [which comes] with the galleon commercial transactions are greatly retarded.

Now, it seems, the two camps had made ready their opposing forces for one of the most sanguinary battles which for many generations had been waged in these islands; and its consequences lasted many years, and its echo was a scandal to the universe. The auditors began the duties of their office with great care and attention, for they were all very erudite men, who had filled chairs in the universities of España; but, as the true wisdom is the fear of God, when this is lacking all human knowledge is useless.

. . . In the Indias a great source of disputes is the desire which some ministers have for extending the royal privileges [*regalías*], expecting through this channel greater advancement – as if kings, and especially those who are so Catholic and pious as are ours of España, would be willing to do anything else than to render to God that which is God's, content with what is rendered to them, which is Cæsar's. The great privileges of the royal patronage are not opposed to the integrity of the episcopal dignity and ecclesiastical hierarchy; rather, they are in accord with each other, and

both use their powers to promote the greater prosperity of the faith. . . . And, since the greatest privileges of the patronage of the Indias are pontifical concessions, how can they be used against the power of him who concedes them, who necessarily must be relatively greater? . . . Therefore, there neither is nor can be wrong in such privileges, which are founded in justice and right, and there is no opposition between those which are pontifical and those which are royal, as there is not and cannot be any between the virtues. The fault is in those who interpret these privileges as they do the laws, for they say that they give their mind to them, as if they no longer had any mind, and were now *mente captas*.⁹⁰ . . . Excellent and learned officials were all the auditors who at that time were members of the Audiencia of Manila; but, to judge by results, self-will greatly blinded their good understandings, and therefore occurred to them the lot of those whom our father St. Augustine mentions (treatise 4 on [the gospel of] John): *Temporalia perdere timuerunt, et vitam æternam non cogitaverunt; ac sic utrumque amisserunt*.⁹¹ The infinite mercy of God probably did not permit that, although all met very painful and some very sudden deaths—except Doctor Don Diego Calderón y Serrano, who died as a good Christian, who did not choose to entrust the safety of his soul to opinions. But at the least we saw them lose temporal pros-

⁹⁰ That is, "mindless, or silly, or without sense;" a neat and keen play on words. The meaning evidently is, that knowledge of law does not consist in mere remembrance of law terms, but in discerning their force and power.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

⁹¹ "They feared to lose temporal goods, and did not reflect on the life eternal; and thus they lost both."

perity, when they were confidently expecting even more. [Here follows (pp. 751-766) Diaz's account of the Pardo controversy, which we omit, since it has been sufficiently used for annotation of other documents relating to that subject, for which see VOL. XXXIX, pp. 149-275.]

CHAPTER XIII

During all the three years' term of the provincial Fray Diego de Jesús this province enjoyed great tranquillity, and made great progress in strict observance, and in care and watchfulness in the mission villages in our charge. All regarded the provincial as a mirror, and seeing him they corrected their own negligence, on account of the great virtues that shone in him. His poverty and disregard of earthly things was of heroic degree. Of many of his surpassing virtues I can be a witness, for I had much to do with him during this triennium, on account of having duties near his person. It cost much urging to make him lay aside a habit, very old and worn, which he had used many years; and to induce him to change a hat which was so old that it appeared unsuitable and ludicrous. On many occasions he had no water even in his cell; and when he needed it, for visitors or for himself, he asked for it from others.⁹² So

⁹² This form of bodily mortification can be understood only by those who live in hot countries. In Europa it is no mortification at all, and there is no religious who does not practice it, as being a precept of the rules, which command that neither food nor drink be taken outside of fixed hours. But in intertropical countries, with the suffocating heat and the continual perspiration it is a necessity to drink water and quench one's thirst with great frequency; and on this account the superiors have to grant dispensations from some prescribed usages that are, if not impossible, exceedingly difficult to fulfil in those countries. As a compensation, there are other forms of mortification which in cold countries

close was his attendance in the choir that it seemed as if he had no other occupation. He never handled money during his term as provincial, to which I can testify, since I was his depositary and almoner (for he possessed the virtue of charity in a very high degree). He was frequent in prayer, and so severely did he mortify the flesh that after death there were found on him the marks of the cilices⁹³ of copper, even to the soles of his feet; a little before he died, these had been taken from him by father Fray José de Orense, of the Order of St. Francis, a religious of great ardor, to whom Fray Diego had communicated his own. Although I have not reached the time at which his holy death occurred, I am not willing to pass over in silence what happened on that occasion to this noble religious Fray José Orense. The death of our father Fray Diego de Jesús was hastened by his infirmities, and by his age, which was seventy-four years. They rang the bell for giving him the holy sacraments, and at the same time father Fray José de Orense came in at the convent door. They told him that his dear friend was in danger of death, and he replied with a serene face that he already knew this, and had come to the convent on that account; for the two had agreed that, whoever should die first, the other would assist him at death. The wonderful thing is, that the brethren had not are difficult to practice, such as sleeping on the ground, which in the regions that are mentioned above do not merit even the name of mortification.—FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

⁹³ Spanish, *cilicios*: a term originally derived from the name Cilicia, from which country was brought in ancient times a cloth woven of hair, called therefore *cilicium*; applied to a belt or girdle of haircloth, or of metallic wires woven together, often with projecting points of metal, worn next to the skin by way of mortifying the flesh.

informed Fray José of it, nor had there been time for that. He remained with our father Fray Diego until the latter expired in his arms. Our father had completed his term as provincial, to the great regret of all, and then retired to a cell, which, during the thirteen years while he lived, he did not leave except for the choir-services; nor did he go outside [the convent] except with the body of religious. In no chapter-meeting which followed would he vote, although he was past provincial; and in order to carry this out better he endeavored to secure that his brother, Fray Buena-ventura de Béjar, should obtain the function of voting. If in the year 1686 he presided in the chapter-meeting, it was by commission of our very reverend father general, and because some persons had magnified it as a charge on his conscience that it was important for him to accept that post; and therefore he did so, although with evident reluctance. They desired to elect him provincial for six years before [his death], but they never were able to attain this.

The chapter-session was held in the convent at Manila on May 8, 1683; and it was presided over by father Fray Juan Ponce, the first definitor for the past triennium, as we had not a special appointment for that duty from our very reverend father, the general of the whole order. The election for provincial fell on our father Fray José Duque, for the second time, with the unanimous consent of all the voting fathers and the general satisfaction of the whole province—who knew from long experience his great talent for governing, and his great devoutness and prudence; on account of these qualifications

he was afterward commissary of the Holy Office. As definitors were elected our father Fray Juan de Jérez, the father reader Fray Juan Bautista Bover, and fathers Fray Alonso de Escos and Fray Francisco de Zamora. The visitors for the past triennium were present, the father reader Fray Miguel Rubio and father Fray Juan Guedeja; and the new visitors appointed for this triennium were fathers Fray José de la Cruz and Fray Alonso de Arnillas. The mandates and statutes of this chapter-session, although not many, were exceedingly useful for the proper government of the province.

Strong recommendations were made that they should send to the mission of China religious who might aid fathers Fray Álvaro de Benavente and Fray Juan de Rivera; and for this holy employ, after a few months, the father reader Fray Miguel Rubio offered himself, and, renouncing the office of prior of the convent of Cebú and the responsibility of vicar-provincial for that island, he embarked for China; and afterward he was followed by fathers Fray José Gil and Fray Francisco Patiño, who rendered excellent service for several years in those missions – although finally they withdrew on account of impaired health, and returned to these islands.

When the father reader Fray Miguel Rubio arrived at Cantón, it was but a short time after the entrance into China, by way of Hermosa Island, of the bishop of Heliopolis, Don Francisco Palú, on a journey from Roma; he resided in the city of Moyang, from which place he sent to the regulars who were ministers notifications of the decrees of the holy Congregation of the Propaganda upon the subjection of the regulars to the apostolic vicars. This

occasioned great disquiet, and hindered the preaching of the gospel; and from it originated bitter controversies, which began in that time, and are not ended up to the present; may it please God to bring them to an end in future days. Nevertheless, at the visit to Roma of father Fray Álvaro de Benavente some relief was given by the decree which he obtained from the holy Congregation of the Propaganda, which suspended the subjection, and left only the visitation of the vicars-apostolic and some other and lesser duties of obedience, in other matters leaving the regulars subject to their own regular superiors – which is the same as to leave them subject to two masters. But this is impossible, by the saying of Christ our Lord, according to chap. xvii of St. Luke: *Nemo potest duobus Dominis servire*⁹⁴ – which is what was attempted in Filipinas by the archbishop Don Diego Camacho y Avila.⁹⁵ Bishop Palú, who styled himself vicar apostolic for the entire empire of China, sent to Cantón a notification of the bull of his Holiness Clement X and the subjection of the regulars, to a French priest named Filibert Leblanc – who is still living, a very old man, and is vicar apostolic of a province. His coming occasioned much grief to the fathers of St. Francis, and to father

⁹⁴ “No one can serve two masters;” in verse 13 of the sixteenth (not seventeenth, as in our text) chapter of Luke’s gospel.

⁹⁵ Although difficulties arise in obeying two superiors, it is not impossible, and much less when the respective jurisdiction of each is over different activities – as occurs in the missions and villages directed by religious, in which the superior of the order is responsible for his subordinates conducting themselves as they should in their private lives, and the vicar or bishop watches to see that they are punctual in the discharge of their ministry as missionaries or parish priests. In such cases the gospel text, which speaks of those who command opposite things, does not properly apply.—FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

Fray Miguel Rubio, who made such answer as at that time seemed expedient. The bishop of Heliopolis lived but a short time in China, dying in the city of Moyang.

This year the governor despatched to Nueva España two galleons, with a considerable interval between, thus providing a remedy against the returns to port which had been experienced in preceding years; for it was very possible that, in case one ship were driven back, the other could make its voyage — which had been known to occur many times, since they could not keep together in that dangerous navigation, and might follow very different courses; and one will suffer from a storm, and the tempest not reach the region where the other vessel is sailing. Accordingly, he sent the galleon “Santa Rosa” as flagship, in charge of General Antonio Nieto; and as almiranta the galleon “San Telmo,” under his follower Admiral Don Francisco Fabra, a very sagacious and active man. These two galleons made a prosperous voyage and reached the port of Acapulco, where General Antonio Nieto remained as castellan of the castle there (until his Majesty should give him a proprietary appointment), because he who held this office was dead, and the viceroy of Nueva España, Marqués de Laguna and Conde de Paredes de Nava,⁹⁶ appointed *ad interim* General Antonio Nieto. [This resulted] to the great improvement of that fort, for he strengthened and

⁹⁶ Tomás Antonio de la Cerda, Conde de Paredes and Marqués de la Laguna, succeeded Archbishop Rivera as viceroy of Nueva España on November 30, 1680; he held this office six years. During this time the shores of Nueva España were continually harassed by pirates and buccaneers — the most notable event being their capture and sack of Vera Cruz in May, 1683.

repaired it, and provided it with military supplies, in which it was very deficient – most of this at his own cost, because he had a generous disposition.

Governor Don Juan de Vargas also placed on the stocks, at the port of Cavite, a galleon to which he gave the name “Santo Niño Jesús de Cebú,” one of the largest ships ever built in these islands; its builder was Juan Sánchez, a man well skilled in the art of such construction, on account of having practiced it many years in Yucatán. So much diligence was used in constructing the ship that it made a voyage to Acapulco in the year 1684, as we shall relate in its place.

In this year of 1683 there came to Don Juan de Vargas an envoy extraordinary from the king of Siám, and from his *barcalón* (or prime minister in all the kingdom), who was a Greek and very Catholic, named Constantius Falcón. The envoy was a religious of the order of our father St. Augustine, a native of Lisboa, named Fray Estebán Sousa; [he was formerly] a lecturer on theology in the convent of Évora, and had been rector at Goa and visitor for Macán, and was a religious of great learning and greater virtue. It seems that one of the things solicited by the *barcalón* Constantius Falcón was, to retire to Manila with his family and all his wealth, which was great, on account of his being the royal favorite and having great influence with the king of Siám – who, although a barbarian and very superstitious, as are all that people, had a very amiable disposition and much esteem for Europeans. Sargento-mayor Don Francisco de Moya, with whom Constantius was on very intimate terms, dissuaded him from this purpose; and certainly the arguments which he brought forward were reasonable, based

on the extreme and incredible power of the governors of Manila, which is very unfriendly to the possessor of much wealth, as has been confirmed by experience. I could set down here many instances of this which have occurred in my own time; but I omit this, as being a matter that is both delicate and offensive.

It would have been very prudent on the part of Constantius to have retired from Siám; for within a few years the king died, and his successor was not so kind and well-intentioned. This king inflicted on Constantius a most cruel death, and appropriated his enormous wealth, which, according to report, was counted by millions. It is true that Constantius was very guilty, for he had formed an alliance with the French, and was planning to surrender to them the kingdom of Siám; and for this purpose he had corresponded with the king of France, who sent many Frenchmen for this enterprise – which ended very badly, and cost most of them their lives; and the missionary bishops suffered very great privations. The intention of Constantius was a good one; it was, to establish the Catholic faith in Siám, for which he had built some churches. For the adornment of these, he sent [orders] through the said Don Francisco de Moya for many chalices, monstrances, and vessels of silver covered with gold, to be wrought in Nueva España; on account of his death, these were sold in Manila, and now they are in many churches of these islands. Only his wife escaped – a Japanese woman, a very good Christian – and a son of his, who went to Francia, where the most Christian king conferred honors on him, and gave him an income and the title of count.

Father Fray Estebán de Sousa, having concluded

the business which he had to transact in Manila, returned to Siám; and the king of that country sent him as his ambassador to the king of Portugal, accompanied by two Siamese nobles [*mandarines*] who carried a rich present. With them he went to Goa, where the viceroy of India sent him on his way to Lisboa with the best ship that he had. But when they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope the ship was dashed to pieces, at the place which is called "the false cape," and most of its people perished, including one of the Siamese nobles. Father Fray Estebán and another religious of Ours – a Portuguese named Fray José de Gracia, who had spent several years in Filipinas – with a very few others, saved their lives. They traveled by land more than forty leguas, through those desert shores of Africa, where they encountered only lions of fearful size; they saved themselves from the lions at night by surrounding themselves with fires, on account of the antipathy which those fierce beasts have for fire. They ate some herbs of the field, and, weakened by hunger and fatigue, they fell dead along the way; more than forty Portuguese perished, among them two religious of the Society of Jesus, for they were old men and unable to travel so far, or to suffer such privations. After many days, having endured incredible sufferings, they reached a city which the Dutch have at the Cape of Good Hope, called Santa Elena; they were received there with much kindness, and the Dutch treated them very well, and relieved their many necessities.

Father Fray Estebán returned to Goa, and by order of his provincial went back to Siám, where in the Bandel⁹⁷ of the Portuguese he made a hermitage;

⁹⁷ This word cannot be found in the Spanish lexicons, and is

and there, allowing his beard to grow, he devoted himself wholly to prayer and mortification, being an example for all the Europeans in that kingdom. He had his grave always open, in which he often placed himself, and there meditated on the end of the glories of this world. In the year 1698 he returned to Manila, in order to procure a bell for his hermitage and some other articles for its adornment, and to collect some alms. In the following year he went back to Siám, to continue that mode of life, [which he did] until the year 1709, when they found him dead in his hermitage, on his knees; they buried him in the grave which he had always kept open. The spirit of this religious was approved in Manila by men consummate in virtue—especially by fathers Fray Francisco de la Concepción and Fray José Orense, Franciscans, who were very spiritual men, and well qualified to decide on souls truly mystical. He practiced great mortification in his food, for he never ate flesh or fish, but only fruits (and those without any additional relish), roasted sweet potatoes and bananas, and a little boiled rice.

In a vessel from the Coromandel coast came Juan Antúnez de Portugal, a knight of the Order of Christ, and a son of the celebrated Portuguese jurist Domingo de Antúnez de Portugal (of the same order), who wrote the very learned book, *De regalibus*. He came with an appointment from his king as governor of the islands of Timor and Solor, and, having fallen dangerously ill at Malaca, he feared, as a good Catholic, to die among those Cal-

probably a Siamese word, since on old maps of Siam are numerous place-names which begin with the syllable *Ban*. *Bandel* may be a place-name, but more probably designates the trading-post occupied by the Portuguese.

vinistic heretics; and therefore embarked in a coasting vessel which was coming to Manila with merchandise. He was received by Governor Don Juan de Vargas with the hospitality which his person and noble rank merited, and medical treatment was provided for him with great care. As soon as he became well and was ready to continue his voyage to Timor, the governor sent him, well provided, in a very good vessel belonging to some Portuguese traders, and gave him some Spaniards to accompany him.

The islands of Timor and Solor are the last of which we have knowledge toward the south beyond the island of Jacatra, where the Dutch have founded the city of Nueva Batavia, the capital of all the colonies and factories that they possess in Eastern India from the Cape of Good Hope, which are numerous and rich. The islands of Timor and Solor abound with gold, and in them alone grows the sandalwood, a very fragrant and esteemed wood, and a great article of trade for China – although the transportation of it is very unbecoming for Christians, because it is the incense and *timiama* which the Chinese use most in the sacrifices to their idols; and therefore the Portuguese have found by experience that wealth gained by this wretched traffic never is profitable. These islands are under the Portuguese dominion and are relics of its ancient colonies, although they are but little subject to it on account of being more than twelve hundred leguas from Goa. At that time the rule over them had been usurped by a Dutch mestizo (although he feigned to be a Catholic), named Antonio de Ornay, a very sagacious man and an able politician, who governed

them more as a king than as a vassal (as he said he was) of the king of Portugal – whom he recognized so far as it seemed good to him, and made contributions to his revenues with part of the great and almost incredible riches which it was said he possessed, especially in gold; but most of his wealth was hidden and buried in the ground. The king of Portugal and the viceroy of India, knowing that they could do no more, allowed him to remain in that power, and sent him [the insignia of] the Order of Christ, and other titles of honor. It seems that the cabinet at Lisboa were displeased at the limited power that the Portuguese crown possessed in Timor, and decided to send Juan Antúnez to replace Antonio de Ornay, but armed and escorted only by the royal warrant, which is more than enough for Portuguese loyalty. Juan Antúnez arrived at the principal port of Timor, and found it in hostile array and garrisoned by soldiers of all nations, sent by Antonio de Ornay, who already had information (by way of Batavia) of his new successor; these soldiers had orders from him not to allow Juan Antúnez or any other person to land from the vessel, and not to accept from him any despatch or letter. The new governor spent many days there, waiting to see if he could at least write a letter to Antonio de Ornay; but seeing that he had no remedy except to return to Manila, he did so, with much difficulty and lack of provisions. From Manila he set out for India, where he was afterward governor of Mozambique and other places in Africa. Antonio de Ornay remained absolute master of Timor and Solor, until he died suddenly, of old age; and without the assistance of a priest, because the influence

[*aires*] of the neighboring Batavia had so weakened his scruples. At his death was present a citizen of Macán, Antonio de Vasconcelos, of the same Order of Christ, who told us in these islands that all the wealth of Antonio de Ornay, a great quantity of gold, had been lost; for, as he had buried all his treasures and died suddenly, they remained for the court of Pluto, the imaginary god of riches and also of hell.

About the end of the year, Auditor Doctor Don Cristóbal Herrera Grimaldos died, aged more than seventy years. The cause of his death – which came rapidly, in an illness of a few weeks – was that a running sore that he had in his right arm became cancerous. It is said that it was this arm that he stretched out to seize the archbishop when he ordered [the soldiers] to carry out the prelate in the chair on which he was sitting; such is the story, but it is not confirmed. . . . What is certainly known is, that he made no effort to secure absolution from the excommunication. He publicly received the holy viaticum, which was administered to him by the dean, Don Miguel Ortiz de Covarrubias; and they buried him in the church of the Society of Jesus at Manila. Afterward the archbishop, having returned from his exile (as we shall soon relate), by sentence and demand from his attorney-general ordered that the auditor's body be disinterred; but this proved ineffectual, because it was alleged that the body had been buried in a general sepulchre, in which were the bones of others of the faithful, and those of the auditor could not be recognized. At this, the ecclesiastical officials desisted from their attempt; but there was no other declaration to the contrary.

While the archbishop was enduring his exile in Lingayén – or, to speak more correctly, his imprisonment, since he had not the liberty that exiled persons enjoy – in Manila the tempest continued against the religious of St. Dominic, who, as being his brethren in the order, had great share in his troubles. The usurping provisor, Dean Don Miguel de Covarrubias, and the cabildo, successful in maintaining the vacant see [*sede vacante*], arrested and harassed all those who, as it seemed to them, did not agree with their opinion. And as it seemed to them that all the force in this opposition came from the religious of St. Dominic – especially from the provincial, Fray Antonio Calderón; father Fray Cristóbal Pedroche, commissary of the Holy Office and vicar-provincial; father Fray Bartolomé Marrón, rector of the college of Santo Tomás; and the two lecturers in theology, father Fray Juan Ibáñez and Fray Francisco de Vargas – they demanded aid from the governor, Don Juan de Vargas, to banish those religious. The governor issued a royal decree, signed only with his own name, directing the provincial to send the five religious above mentioned to the village of Lalo, the capital of the bishopric of Nueva Segovia, distant a hundred leguas from Manila, on the pretext that some of them were preaching, and others teaching, erroneous doctrines in the community. The said provincial replied to this that if the errors consisted in saying that the cabildo and their provisor had usurped the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that the persons who had banished the archbishop and arrested the ecclesiastics deserved the censures [of the church], it was himself who had most influence [in forming that opinion in them], and who with

most firmness maintained it; and that as his subordinates were not to blame in the matter, since they obeyed the commands laid on them, he could not fulfil the orders given by the royal decree. The said master-of-camp issued a second decree in the same form as the first, repeating its commands, and ordering that the provincial with the five religious be brought to this capital.

To the end that this order might be executed, he gave commission to Licentiate Don Diego Antonio de Viga, auditor of that Audiencia – who, accompanied by several companies of arquebusiers and other soldiers under the command of the said governor, went to the convent of San Domingo; and, leaving it surrounded with many of the soldiers, with others he entered it to make known the said royal decree. He actually notified the provincial and Fray Cristóbal Pedroche, commissary of the Holy Office and vicar-provincial of Manila; and the soldiers looked through the entire convent in search for the rector, Fray Bartolomé Marron. Not finding him, they went on to the college of Santo Tomás, and, after making the same efforts to find the said rector, but in vain, notified the two professors of the same decree. They made substantially the same reply as the provincial – all of them saying that they could not voluntarily leave their offices and province; but that they were ready to endure any violence for the sake of God and His cause. The news of this was sent to the said master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas, and he was told how in the convent and the college all the doors and offices had been opened to the soldiers, without resistance; he gave orders that the soldiers should remain round about the con-

vent and college, and should not permit the entrance of any provision of food or water for the religious until the six should be surrendered, and should go alone to the places designated in the said royal decree. This blockade, with this rigor, lasted four days, and on the last day, which was the day next following Corpus [Christi], the same auditor went to the convent; and, having made various protestations and requisitions, ordered the usurping provisor (who was present) to remove those religious. After some questions and replies the provisor commanded the soldiers to carry in chairs, in their arms, to the place of embarkation of the provincial and his vicar-provincial; this was actually done, carrying them until they placed the religious in the vessel which had been made ready for this purpose. This having been accomplished at the convent, they went to the college of Santo Tomás, and the same thing was done to the two professors of theology; and, all being placed together in the same vessel, they were conveyed to the port of Cavite. From that place the two professors were transported in another vessel to the island of Mariveles; and the provincial and vicar-provincial were detained there until the time for the sailing of the ship for Nueva España, in which they were embarked. The said provincial reached the kingdom of España, where he died a few months after his arrival.

At the same time, by order of the said master-of-camp, Doctor Don Diego Calderón went to the convent of the Parián (which is the village of the heathen Chinese), with the same display of arms and soldiers, in quest of the said vicar-provincial, and searched the entire convent – where he could not be

found, since he was, as has been stated, in the convent of Manila, in company with the provincial. With the same commission Captain Don Luis de Morales Camacho, alcalde-in-ordinary, went with armed soldiers to a ranch named Biñán, distant eight leguas from Manila, and belonging to the said college, to seize the rector, thinking that they would find him there; and General Antonio Vásquez went, with the same accompaniment of soldiers, to the convent of Abucay, a ministry for the Indians, distant eight leguas from Manila by sea, to look for Fray Raimundo Verart; but, as they could not find those two religious, they could not in their case put into execution the [sentence for their] removal from the islands. Strenuous efforts were made in Manila to look for the father rector, Fray Bartolomé Marron, but they could not find him; for he was safely hidden in the house of a person who was strongly attached to the order; so they desisted from their search for him.

CHAPTER XIV

The two galleons which had sailed for Nueva España in the preceding year arrived safely at Filipinas [1684], although they did not make port at Cavite, but at Solsogón, within the Embocadero. The flagship "Santa Rosa," which had gone out in charge of Antonio Nieto (who had remained as warden of the castle at Capulco), brought back as its commander Don Juan de Zalaeta, a native of Vizcaya, and a knight of the Order of Santiago. He had spent many years in these islands, and had been a soldier in Ternate; and, having returned to [Nueva?] España, had held several honorable

offices—as, being alcalde-mayor of Hicayán and Puebla de los Angeles, and warden of Acapulco. In this galleon came the governor who was to succeed Don Juan de Vargas; this was the admiral of galleons, Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui y Arriola, a knight of the Order of Santiago, and a member of the “twenty-four” of Sevilla and of the supreme Council of War. He had been commander of the Windward fleet,⁹⁸ and had held other responsible positions on sea and land; and he was a Vizcayan, a native of Elgoibar. Don Juan de Zalaeta carried the commission for taking the residencia of Don Juan de Vargas, and other warrants; but the most important person among those whose residencias he must take was the master-of-camp Don Francisco Guerrero de Ardila, uncle of Don Juan de Vargas’s wife. It was this man who had enjoyed the profits of the office of government, and this year he was returning to España as commander of the galleon “Santo Niño.” That vessel met within the Embocadero the galleon “Santa Rosa,” and, learning that in the latter had come a successor to Don Juan de Vargas, he hoisted the anchors without waiting for further information, whether opportune or not [*con tiempo ó sin él*], and sailed into the sea outside; and he was not ill-advised in this step, since in the residencia he would have been the chief personage. When Don Juan de Zalaeta learned that the best of the hunt had escaped from him, he was much grieved that he could not catch him; although it would have grieved Don Francisco Guerrero more

⁹⁸ The Windward fleet (*armada de Barlovento*) was maintained to protect Spanish commerce in the Atlantic between Spain and America. In 1689 it was composed of six ships of the line and a frigate. (Bancroft’s *Mexico*, iii, p. 224.)

if they had seized him. That gentleman knew how to enjoy the advantages of Filipinas quite alone, and to go away laughing at the citizens and every one else; but Don Juan de Vargas remained behind, in custody, to make amends for his own faults and those of others.

In company with the above-mentioned governor came very distinguished officers, all Vizcayans; there were Don José de Escorta, Don Pedro Urió-solo, Don Francisco Álvarez, Don Bernardo de Endaya (who carried the despatches from his Majesty), Don Pedro de Avendaño, Don Matías de Mugórtgui, Don Francisco de León y Leal, Don Juan Bautista Curucelaegui, Don Andrés de Mirafuentes, Don José de Herrera, Don Manuel González, Don Lorenzo Mesala, Don Francisco Carsiga (who died a priest), Don José Arriola, Don Martín Martínez de Tejada, and Don Lucas Vais; all of them were generals and sargentos-mayor, whom we know as captains, and rendered much service and honor to these islands. In this galleon came Don Mateo Lucas de Urquiza; also Captain Lorenzo Lázaró, a noted pilot; Captain Don Francisco Cortés, boatswain; and for ship's storekeeper Juan de Aramburu, a brave Vizcayan who served in many important exploits.

In the almiranta "San Telmo," in which returned the admiral Don Francisco Manuel de Fabra, came a numerous and excellent mission of religious of our father St. Augustine; it was sent by father Fray Manuel de la Cruz, who left these islands in the year 1680; he himself had been left in our hospice of Santo Tomás de Villanueva, outside the city of Méjico. This galleon "San Telmo" was in great



View of Strait of Manila; photographic facsimile from *Recueil des voyages Comp. Indes orientales* (Amsterdam, 1725)
[From copy in library of Wisconsin Historical Society]

danger of not being able to return hither, for, having set sail several days after the flagship, on leaving the port the rudder-irons broke, and the ship was almost unmanageable – a defect very difficult to repair in that place, on account of the scarcity of artisans at Acapulco. If it had not been for the diligence and energy of the warden Antonio Nieto, who sent to a great distance to get workmen, and made the repairs at his own cost and with his personal attention, this loss would have been irremediable; but his zeal and good judgment enabled the ship to pursue its voyage with but a few days' loss of time, and to succeed in making port at these islands.

On the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, August 23, in the afternoon, the distinguished mission of our religious entered Manila; in numbers it was the largest that had entered this province,⁹⁹ and in quality unequalled. This province received them with great tokens of rejoicing; and the land welcomed them with an earthquake, and not a slight one, which occurred that night. On August 29 the private session of the definitory was held, to draw up the formal statement of receiving and incorporating them [into the province].

On the day following the entry of our religious into Manila, that is, the day of St. Bartholomew, the new governor, Don Miguel de Curucelaegui y Arriola, made his entry into the city; this was done with great pomp, and two triumphal arches were erected for him, by the college of the Society of Jesus and our convent, with very ingenious emblematic

⁹⁹ Pérez's *Catálogo* enumerates forty-five in this mission band. Among them was a priest, Diego Higinio, who for many years ministered to the lepers in Bisayas.

allusions in Latin and Castilian verse, and very expressive laudations. At this entry occurred a disaster which might have served to the heathen as a bad omen. Hardly had the governor entered through the Puerta Real, which they call Puerta de Bagumbayan, when a balcony that was on the side within the city wall above the said gate gave way, and fell, with great injury to those who were within it; so that many were left cripples, and among these a Recollect religious named Fray Luis. The fiscal of the royal Audiencia, Doctor Don Estebán de la Fuente Alanis, escaped the danger, the falling balcony striking his horse's tail; and Captain Don Francisco de Arcocha, the equerry of the new governor, was hurt. But, although many were injured, the life of no person was endangered.

The religious of this mission brought with them an image for devotion, a painting of the holy Christ of Burgos, touched up to accord with the original. This was received in Manila with great solemnity, in a procession, the new governor taking part therein on account of being much given to that devotion, and with him the most distinguished persons in the city. The image was deposited in the main chapel, with an altar and retable which were very suitable for it, until the Conde de Lizárraga, Don Martín de Ursua y Arismendi, provided that which the image has at the present time. The governor went to mass every Friday, and there was a large attendance of citizens of Manila—I know not whether out of complaisance with him; for at the death of Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui, who was buried at the foot of the aforesaid altar, at the same time was buried with him the devotion of the citizens of Manila. The

same occurred in the government of the said Conde de Lizárraga, who again revived this devotion; for it was likewise buried with him, in the same place. So much influence has the example of the governors in these islands, and so great is their power, that even devotion seems to need their aid. The religious also brought a brief from his Holiness Innocent XI for the erection of a confraternity of the holy Christ of Burgos; this undertaking was carried out, and its first director¹⁰⁰ was this devout governor. In his time it had a large membership, but today it has very few confriers; but they are most devout and sincere when they are least influenced by vain and worldly considerations, and most please the Lord when they are anxious to please not princes – men in whom there is no real prosperity – but the King of kings, who always repays them in money of infinite value.

Much did the Catholic governor grieve over entering upon his office without the benediction of the archbishop, and at finding the people of the city as a flock without a shepherd, their consciences loaded with scruples over matters of so much importance, and all of them perplexed and entangled in these dissensions; and therefore he resolved, with firm purpose and heroic determination, to cause the archbishop to be restored to his church. The opposition which he encountered among the auditors in his efforts to secure this cannot be expressed; but he firmly maintained his resolution, even to the extent of saying that he would restore the archbishop, even if it should cost him his head. He

¹⁰⁰ Spanish, *hermano mayor*, that is, the brother at the head of the association.

consulted the religious orders, asking them to give him their opinions, on the basis of law, both civil and canonical. I have not seen what the other corporations replied, which I suppose must have been what the governor desired; but I know well that the Order of St. Augustine adduced many and very substantial arguments in favor of the restitution of the archbishop to his church, and this with many citations from the authors on whom the auditors had taken their stand—who, as the royal Council of the Indias afterward declared, were greatly at error in their method, according to what the royal laws ordain in case it should be necessary to enforce the penalty of banishment against any prelate. The same error was committed by the capitulars of the ecclesiastical cabildo in declaring and proclaiming a vacant see, through their misunderstanding of the chapter *Si Episcopus*, "*De supplenda negligentia prælatorum*," in VI¹⁰¹—an error which afterward cost them all so dear, especially the dean, Don Miguel Ortiz de Cóbarrubias.

The governor, Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui, determined to restore the archbishop to Manila, sent to Lingayén as his agent for accomplishing this, General Don Tomás de Endaya; and the city of Manila sent a regidor, Sargento-mayor Don Gonzalo de Samaniego, and some citizens. With them

¹⁰¹ The reference is to a passage in canon law, in the *Corpus Juris*, which runs thus: *Si Episcopus à Paganis aut Schismaticis capiatur, non Archiepiscopus, sed Capitulum . . . ministrare debet*: . . . The full citation is: *Si Episcopus*, "*De supplenda negligentia Prælatorum*," lib. i, cap. iii, in *Sexto*. The *Sextus*, or sixth book, from which the above is taken, is entitled, *Sexti Decretalium Liber*, of Pope Boniface VIII; and is described in Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 106.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

went the past provincial of Santo Domingo, Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz, commissary of the Holy Office, and many others, with an escort of soldiers. On November 16 the archbishop came back from his exile, to the general rejoicing of the entire city, which had been so long a time afflicted by the absence of its pastor and prelate. The artillery was fired [as a salute], from the castle, and from the wall adjoining the gate of Santo Domingo, by which the archbishop made his entrance; and after he had visited the church he went to the palace, to see his liberator, the Catholic governor—who said that, in case his proceeding should displease his Majesty and the royal and supreme Council of the Indias, he would regard it as a great glory to have a punishment, even were it capital, imposed upon him. This may be believed of him, as he was a man of a great soul, although small in body; *Major in exiguo regnavit corpore virtus*.¹⁰² What we saw in him was, that he was one of the best governors that these islands have had—affable, pious, magnanimous, and in the highest degree disinterested, and with this very liberal. And therefore he was wont to say that he had come to Filipinas to be poor, where other governors had come to be rich. This he said with truth, because in España and the Indias he had possessed much wealth, gained in the many voyages that he had made in command of the fleet and galleons to Perú and Nueva España, which had been consumed by his ostentation and liberality. We may therefore regard it as a punishment of God upon these islands that He removed him from us in the fifth year of his term of government—in which time

¹⁰² i.e., "Courage holds greater sway in a small body."

he was severe with those only to whom he could not in justice be kind – unless it were that divine justice chose him for the punishment of those who had deserved it before his time.¹⁰³

Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui began his government with great acceptability and satisfaction to all, and taking the measures necessary for the maintenance of these islands. The year of 1685 was a hard one on account of the general epidemic of smallpox which raged, not only in these islands but in all the kingdoms of China and Eastern India – especially on the Coromandel coast, where many millions of Malabars died. In Filipinas the ravages of the epidemic were great, principally among the infants; but the place where, it is affirmed, the pest caused incredible loss was in the mountains of Manila where the insurgent blacks [*i.e.*, Negritos] dwell, so many dying that those mountain districts were left almost uninhabited. But it was not only among them that the disease wrought such destruction, but also among the deer and wild swine, of which there is an innumerable multitude in these mountains, even after they have contributed with their flesh to the support of so great a number of blacks. The reason why so many die with this contagion is, first, their weak physique; and second, the custom that they have of abandoning those who are attacked by the disease, on account of which they die much sooner – and, what is worse, in their heathen blindness. In China many millions of people died, so that there was no one to cultivate the fields; from this resulted great famine and mortality, after the epidemic of smallpox.

¹⁰³ That is, who had deserved it before his coming, but thus far had managed to escape punishment.

CHAPTER XV

The first vessel that the governor despatched for Nueva España was the galleon "Santa Rosa;" and he appointed as its commander Don Francisco Zorrilla, a native of Granada; as its chief pilot, Admiral Don Lorenzo Lazcano; and as sargento-mayor, Don Bernardo de Endaya. The voyage of this galleon caused great damage to the citizens of Manila, on account of the difficulty in disposing of their property caused by the poor market¹⁰⁴ that they found at the port of Acapulco, because a fleet of many vessels, laden with merchandise, had arrived at Vera Cruz. From the time of this voyage, the shipments which were sent from these islands to the commerce of Nueva España began to decrease—not only on account of the above-mentioned fleets, but through the numerous imposts and contributions which were levied on the galleons of Filipinas, which continually increased;¹⁰⁵ conse-

¹⁰⁴ Spanish, *mala feria*, "a bad fair;" referring to the annual gathering of buyers at Acapulco on the arrival of the Manila galleon.

¹⁰⁵ "So closely did the government guard against possible independence of the colonists in trade that ships' companies were prohibited from purchasing goods of the country, and factors and traders on the fleets were not allowed to remain longer than three years in America. No foreigner could trade with the colonies, nor was one permitted to enter a port without special license. In fact the prices of both imports and exports of New Spain, with the exception of the precious metals, were under the arbitrary control of the merchants of Seville, and later of Cádiz. What further increased the drainage of wealth from America was the decadence of manufacturing industries in Spain, owing to the immense influx into the Peninsula of precious metals. The riches poured into the mother country made labor almost unnecessary; hence a general decline in all kinds of industry, and Spain had to resort to foreign markets, not only to supply home consumption but also the demands of her colonies. Merchandise

quently, seldom was a voyage made from which the citizens obtained any profits beyond their principal from the goods which they shipped.

During the time which the archbishop spent in his exile at Lingayén occurred the death of the bishop of Nueva Segovia – Doctor Don Francisco Pizarro de Orellana, a native of Manila – at the village of Vigan, the capital of the province of Ilocos, a few months after his consecration. He was very learned, and greatly beloved for his very affable manners and his angelic gentleness. He had been for many years provisor and archdeacon, and commissary of the Holy Crusade;¹⁰⁶ he was therefore greatly esteemed by all, and his loss was keenly felt. His death caused

thus procured could only be exported to the American settlements at rates increased by additional duties and merchants' profits." Besides the commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies by the home government, other influences depressed trade – forced loans to the king, debased coinage, interference by the church, arbitrary action by civil authorities, contraband trade, the ravages of war, and the depredations of corsairs. "In time of war commerce with the mother country was reduced to the lowest ebb; European goods were poured into the Spanish colonies by neutrals, and the contraband trade was almost openly carried on." (Bancroft's *Mexico*, iii, pp. 628-630.)

¹⁰⁶ Regarding the bulls of the Crusade (for which see VOL. XXVIII, pp. 113-115), the following information is furnished by Rev. Dr. William A. Jones, O.S.A., president of the college of San Agustín, Havana: "So far as I know, there was no special decree suppressing the privileges of the *Bula Cruzada*. As I understand it from those who are well informed, the original privileges contained in the *Bula Cruzada* were exclusively bestowed upon Spanish subjects, and as a consequence, followed the Spanish flag. The moment the sovereignty of Spain ceased over this island [Cuba], so ceased also the meaning of the *Bula Cruzada* for these rebels to the old dynasty. But some Cubans continued to adopt the privileges of the Latin American Council which had recently been held in Rome (about five years ago), in virtue of which the privileges regarding fasts and abstinence are almost identical with the old *Bula*; those privileges were afterward confirmed, and we follow the rules of the Council. As for the Phil-

a long vacancy in the said church [of Nueva Segovia], which lasted until the year 1704, when his successor arrived; this was Master Don Fray Diego Gorospe é Irala, of the Order of Preachers, a native of Puebla de los Angeles. This prelate made strenuous endeavors to establish the visitation of the regulars in charge of missions, and gave much occasion for patience to the religious of St. Dominic and St. Augustine as long as he lived, which was until May 20, 1715. On account of the death of Don Francisco Pizarro, the cabildo of Manila named for governor of that bishopric Don Diego de Navas, who had been expelled from the Society of Jesus, a man of impetuous disposition; this was one of the charges afterward made by the archbishop against the cabildo. That prelate, after he was restored to his church, sent his assistant the bishop of Troya, Don Fray Ginés de Barrientos, to rule that bishopric. [Here follows an account of Pardo's dealings with the ecclesiastical cabildo and other persons who had been excommunicated on account of their share in his banishment, which is here omitted, as having been sufficiently recounted in "The Pardo Controversy," VOL. XXXIX, *q.v.*]

This year the galleon "Santo Niño" arrived from Acapulco, and Master-of-camp Don Francisco Gue-

ippines, I infer that the *Bula* ceased there as soon as the Spanish sovereignty ended."

An Augustinian father who has recently come to Villanova from the Philippines states that in those islands they have dispensations for fasts and abstinence, the same as before the revolution; but he could not state the precise date of those dispensations.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

A decree of Leo XIII, April 22, 1899, grants the Cuban bishops authority for ten years to grant dispensations from fasting and abstinence.

rrero remained behind in Nueva España, thus escaping from the numerous lawsuits of the residencia, with all of which Don Juan de Vargas was laden. It would have been of great assistance to him to have had the aforesaid Don Francisco at his side, since the latter was very crafty and sagacious, and not so easily perplexed in matters that concerned him as was Don Juan de Vargas; for the governors in that country need to be very liberal in the residencia, and to have much patience and courage.

As commander [of the galleon] in place of Don Francisco Guerrero came General Antonio Nieto, because a proprietary appointee had succeeded him in the castle of Acapulco. There also came in his company three religious, sent by father Fray Manuel de la Cruz—two who had remained [in Nueva España] sick from the last mission; and the other because he had enlisted for this province, a son of Mechoacán. [The next two paragraphs relate to the residencia of Vargas; part of this has already been used for annotations in the account of that trial in VOL. XXXIX, *q.v.*]

CHAPTER XVI

The peace and pious tranquillity which this province enjoyed throughout the three years' government of our father Fray José Duque was like that which it had enjoyed during the three years of his former term, and was what this province had expected from him on account of the knowledge and experience which all had of his piety, great discretion, and sagacity in making way through the greatest difficulties. Accordingly, they bade farewell to his paternal government with much regret, and deter-

mined to reelect him for a third term – which they did afterward at the proper time, opportunity being afforded for this by the long span of his life and the robust constitution with which he was endowed, which were astonishing.

The time arrived which our Constitutions assign for holding the provincial chapter, and it assembled in the convent of Manila; over it presided, with letters from our very reverend father general Fray Antonio Paccino, our father Fray Diego de Jesús. Our father Fray Juan de Jérez was elected provincial for the second time, with great satisfaction to all; and as definitors were chosen the fathers Fray Luis Diaz, Fray Juan García, Fray Felipe de Jaurigue, and Fray Diego de Alday. The visitors of the past triennium were present, Fray José de la Cruz and Fray Alonso de Arniellos; and as visitors for this triennium were appointed father Fray Ignacio de Rearcado and the father reader Fray Francisco de Ugarte. Very judicious ordinances were enacted for the proper government of the province, and for the maintenance of the strict regular observance which in those times flourished therein – in which the new provincial had taken a prominent part in his first triennium (which was from 1677 to 1680), and in the past one, in which he had been prior of [the convent in] Manila.

The provincial began to govern with so much zeal and industry that it would be tedious for me to tell how much he accomplished in one year only – the least being that he had visited all the provinces, even to those of Ilocos and Bisayas, without omitting in one point his exercises of prayer and mortification. Of this I can give reliable testimony, as one who was

his secretary and companion during the twenty-two months while he governed, his death being caused by the great labors of this visitation, in which with holy zeal and activity he performed incredible labors in promoting the religious observance, and in securing the cleansing and adornment of the altars and the ornaments, in which he was exceedingly careful and assiduous. He suffered much from the continual harassment of the scruples which tormented him, so much that it caused one grief to see the so heavy cross which the Lord placed on the shoulders of this His creature, which he bore with great fortitude and courage. . . .

Among the excellent arrangements made by this chapter was the chief one, which was that father Fray Álvaro de Benavente should go to España as procurator; he had a few months before returned from China, where he left our missions very well established in the kingdom of Cantón, with houses at Xaoquinfú and Nanhiunfú, and two others in other places of less note. At the same time he was appointed definator for the general chapter which was to meet in Roma, to which father Fray Álvaro was very desirous of going on account of the affairs of the missions conducted by the regulars in China, from whom he carried letters and authority to act in regard to the remission of the oath of subjection to the apostolic vicars. They gave him the necessary despatches, and he determined to make the voyage by way of the Cape of Good Hope, because that year there was no galleon going to Nueva España, the cause of which will be told later. He embarked for Batavia on a Portuguese vessel, and as his companion was assigned the brother Fray Juan Verganzo, who

had come with the mission of the year 1684. He arrived at Batavia, where he encountered great difficulties in making the voyage to Amsterdam; but all these were overcome by a Dutchman, a Calvinist preacher named Teodoro Zas – a very benevolent and courteous man, and very fond of doing good to others; this caused grief in those who knew him, at seeing him misled by the false doctrines of Calvin, when he was so eminent in the moral virtues.

Father Fray Álvaro carried with him the first part of this History, which after a long time came from the press, although only as far as the year 1616 – while I had given it to him complete up to the year 1647 – because at that time this province had not funds at Madrid sufficient to print it all. That first division of the history was printed at the said court in the year 1698, by Manuel Ruiz de Murga; and it was dedicated to her Ladyship the Duquesa de Aveiro, although it was my intention that it be dedicated to the king our sovereign, in his royal and supreme Council of the Indias. The rest of the said first part remained laid aside and forgotten in the convent of San Felipe at Madrid, until I determined to write it again and complete it, by means of the rough drafts that had remained here.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Diaz's statement throws an interesting light on the preparation and publication of the *Conquistas* of Fray Gaspar de San Agustín, which is the work here referred to. At the beginning are various approbations, licenses, etc. The dedication, very flowery and somewhat perfunctory, is made to Doña María de Guadalupe, Duquesa de Aveiro (with many other titles), as "the learned Minerva, not only of our España but of the new worlds;" it is signed by Fray Manuel de la Cruz, but is undated. The first approbation is signed by Fray Diego de Jesús and other Augustinian officials, at Manila, September 2, 1686; and the license for its publication is signed by the provincial of the order, Juan de Jerez, four days later. The commissary of the Inquisition at

About April of 1687, father Fray Álvaro sailed from Batavia in [one of the] galleons of the Company of Holanda, and after many and fearful tempests it reached the Cape of Good Hope, where the Dutch made a halt of two months at the great colony and settlement which that nation maintain there for this purpose; it is a very populous city, and well supplied with all that is necessary to human life, for it possesses a very healthful climate, at the latitude of 36° [on the side] of the tropic of Capricorn. In this city they have a large hospital for treating the sick, with very skilful physicians and surgeons, and with all the comfort that could be found in any other part of the world. Among the magnificent and delightful things which are in that city is a garden, the largest that is known, which, according to report, is only second to the earthly Paradise. It is many leguas in circumference, and is divided, like the world, into four parts. In the part called Europa, Manila, Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz, O.P., approves it on November 28 following; and the archbishop of Manila, Phelipe Pardo, licenses the publication, on December 2. Nothing was done toward printing it until 1697; for the next document is the approbation of the work, furnished by Alonso Sandin, O.P., who has examined it in obedience to the command of Alonso Portillo de Cardos, vicar-general of the archdiocese of Toledo; this is dated at Madrid, August 8, 1697. Nine days later, Portillo issues the license for printing the book. Next follows the approbation of Fray Diego Florez, past provincial of the Augustinian province of Castilla, dated at Madrid, September 5. Then follow a list of "Erratas," thirteen in number, signed by Martin de Ascarza, "corrector-general for his Majesty," dated May 5, 1698; and a certificate (dated May 10) that the price at which the said book may be sold has been fixed by decree of the royal Council at eight maravedis for each printed sheet (*pliego*). A note at the foot of this page states that the book contains 146 pliegos, including unnumbered pages. Nothing is said in any of these documents of Diaz's connection with the work.

there are trees of all the fruits that grow in our Europa; in that called Asia, all those from Asia; and the same in those of Africa and America. This garden has a river, opened by hand-labor, which waters all the four divisions; and for its cultivation many Dutch gardeners and more than two thousand Cafres are kept there. In this place is produced very rich wine, which they call "Cape wine;" for the climate is the same as in Andalucía and Extremadura, although in the opposite zone [*trópico*], and is different only in having summer at Christmas and winter at St. John's day.¹⁰⁸

Father Fray Álvaro left this pleasant town and pursued his voyage to Holanda, and landed at Roter-dán, the native place of Desiderius Erasmus;¹⁰⁹ and

¹⁰⁸ The first Dutch settlement at the present site of Cape Town was made in 1652; it grew very slowly for a long time, for at the end of that century it contained only some eighty private houses. In 1658 negro slaves were carried thither, and later the Dutch sent to Cape Town Javanese criminals who had been sentenced at Batavia to penal servitude, and political prisoners of rank from India, some of whom preferred to remain there for life. With these elements of population and the aboriginal Hottentots arose innumerable mixtures of blood, and the utmost diversity of color and features among the inhabitants. The castle of Good Hope (still standing) was built in 1666-74, as a defense for the colony; and in 1672 a formal purchase of land was made from the Hottentots by the East India Company. The great garden of the Company was partly converted into a nursery for foreign plants and trees by Simon van der Stel, commander of the colony from 1680 to 1699. See Theal's *South Africa* (New York and London, 1894), pp. 20-57.

In 1688-90 nearly 200 Huguenot refugees from France arrived at the Cape, and formed settlements near Cape Town. See Worsfold's *South Africa* (London, 1895), p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ Desiderius Erasmus was born at Rotterdam October 28, 1467. When a boy, he was sent to a convent; and in 1492 was ordained a priest, at Utrecht. He afterward devoted himself to the study of the classics and of divinity, and to literary work; he resided successively in Paris, England, and Basle. His *Colloquies*

thence he went to Amsterdam, where he remained some time. There he made inquiries to ascertain whether he could print the history that he carried in that great city, on account of the beautiful work done by its famous printers; but he gave up this intention, on account of the numerous errors which they made, being ignorant of our language. Thence he embarked for Bilbao, where he and his companion resumed wearing their habits, which they had laid aside in order to go on shore at Batavia. The rest of the tedious peregrinations of father Fray Álvaro will be related, if we can reach the time when he returned [to Manila] with a mission in the year 1690, when we shall observe his entrance into Madrid and his voyage to Roma, and his negotiations at that court in behalf of the regulars of the China missions.

For these missions the chapter designated the father reader Fray Juan de Aguilar, who remained in them several years, and afterward retired on account of failing health; but the chapter sent in his place father Fray Juan Gómez, who continued there until his death. Afterward a large reënforcement of religious was sent to China for the aforesaid missions, which have increased and become very large; and they would have prospered much more, if they had not been so hindered by the claim of subjection to the vicars-apostolic, who made so strenuous efforts to introduce it.

The governor, Don Gabriel Curucelaegui, had determined to send this year [1686] to Nueva

offended zealous Catholics, by attacking the superstitions and abuses in the Church; but he was not a supporter of Luther. Erasmus died on July 12, 1536.

España the galleon "Santo Niño," in charge of General Lucas Mateo de Urquiza; but his efforts to despatch it were ineffectual, because information was received that seven vessels of corsairs or pirates were sailing outside of the Embocadero, and it was feared that their principal intention was to seize the galleon "San Telmo," which was expected on the return trip from Nueva España. Two fragatas of theirs had been in the Babuyan Islands, between Cagayán and Hermosa Island, and had slain two religious of [the Order of] St. Dominic; these were father Fray Jacinto de Samper, a native of Caspe, an able minister to the Chinese in the Parián, and father Fray José Seijas, a nephew of the archbishop of Méjico, Don Francisco Seijas, both of them being religious of great virtue.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the pirates had committed other acts of hostility in Cagayán and Ilocos. The governor determined to suspend the voyage of the galleon for Nueva España, and gave orders to equip it for war—cutting in it many portholes, in order to furnish it with more than a hundred pieces of artillery of large calibre (all of bronze); and placing aboard it a thousand soldiers, Spaniards, Pampangos, Merdicas, Malays, and Zambal Indian bowmen. In its company went two pataches, which had just come for trade with the Coromandel coast, well armed and furnished with soldiers; and for commander of this enterprise the governor appointed Don Tomás de Endaya, with the title of deputy captain-general. To his valor could be entrusted any undertaking,

¹¹⁰ They took Father Samper to the island of Paragua, and abandoned him there. When this event was learned in Manila, they sent for him; but on the way he fell into the hands of the Camucon pirates, who took his life.—FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

however perilous it might be; for he was valiant, and had great skill in navigation, and had gone three times to España as commander [of the galleons]. This splendid armada set out, small in number [of ships], but having great strength. Having escorted through the Embocadero and secured the galleon "San Telmo" (which reached these islands safely), the armada reconnoitered all the places where the piratical enemy might be, but did not find them, but learned that there had been no more than the two vessels which had been in Babuyanes. Thereupon the armada returned to Cavite, without accomplishing anything more than the great expenses which the royal treasury had incurred, and having weakened the great strength of the galleon "Santo Niño," with the numerous portholes which had been cut in it for mounting the artillery; for it was necessary for this purpose to cut through the ribs of the ship's sides, in the preservation of which consisted its greatest strength.

The two pataches proceeded in search of the pirates to the locality of the Babuyanes; and the commander, Don Tomás de Endaya, went with a strong force of men by land to the province of Ilocos to look for them – where, it was said, the said corsairs had arrived, although the news did not prove to be accurate. He went as far as the capital town of Vigan, where his encomienda was; and after having spent some time there, not receiving information of the enemy, he returned to Manila. He left there established a village of the blacks from the mountains, called Santo Tomás, between Tarlac and Magalan, headed by a notable chief of theirs named Don Juan Valiga. A few months after Don Tomás de Endaya

had arrived at Manila, he succeeded in the office of master-of-camp to Don Fernando de Bobadilla (who held it by proprietary appointment from his Majesty), who died about this time. The latter was a great soldier, and the governor of Zamboanga, and is often named in the history; he was a native of Sevilla, and a son of one of the "twenty-four" of that city. The ships that went by sea, after having searched many ports where they thought to find the corsairs, and having no further news of them, returned to Manila without having accomplished anything remarkable. Don Tomás de Endaya was confirmed in the post of master-of-camp, and held it twenty-eight years; and then he died from old age.

In this year of 1686, about June, occurred the revolt of the Sangleys of the Parián of Manila, which I related in book ii, chapter 21, as I did not suppose that I would reach these times with the thread of the narrative; and therefore I do not repeat it [here], as it was written with sufficient fulness, and the curious reader can find it in the place I have cited. [This citation is incorrect, in the arrangement of the chapters as given in Fray López's edition of Diaz; the number of the chapter should be xxxiv. Diaz's account, as there given (pp. 440, 441), we transfer to this place, adding his comments on the question of allowing the Chinese to reside at Manila; it is as follows:]

While these islands were governed by the admiral of the galleons, Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui y Arriola, of the Order of Santiago and one of the "twenty-four" of Sevilla, in the year 1686 [*misprinted* 1636] there occurred a tumult in the Parián which it was feared would become a general upris-

ing [— which was planned,] according to the investigations afterward made. In the said market there were many recently-arrived Sangleys, of so bad reputation that the Sangley merchants themselves had no confidence in these men, and said that they were disguised thieves and highwaymen who had come from China that year, having fled from a mandarin who was a very severe judge, whom the emperor had sent from the court to drive out so mischievous a sort of folk from the province of Fo-Kien, which at that time was infested by criminals of that sort. The said mandarin had executed his commission with such severity that those who were put to death numbered more than sixty thousand — which in China is a small number, because that country abounds in robbers — and for this reason many had made their escape to Manila and other regions, fleeing from the harshness of that judge. These people did all the harm that they could, robbing inside the Parián the Chinese themselves, when they could not rob outsiders.

About this time there came out of the public prison at Manila a Sangley named Tingco, who had been imprisoned for the unnatural crime, and had been there so long that in prison he had learned to read and write our language, and had come to be a sufficiently competent scrivener to write petitions and other papers for the rest of the prisoners, for he was very clever and had a keen mind. He went about [the prison] freely, as being a prisoner of so long standing, and aided the jailer greatly by acting as guard to the other prisoners; and he supported himself very comfortably on what he gained by his pen. Finally, after many years of confinement he

succeeded in gaining his full liberty; and, as he had a restless disposition and evil inclinations, he associated himself with other Chinese criminals, of those who were fugitives from the province of Fo-Kien, and they lived on what they could plunder from other Sangleys and from the Indians and Spaniards. As they regarded this occupation of petty thieving as too disagreeable, and it could not extricate them from their wretchedly poor condition, they planned to assemble together three hundred of these vagabonds, and to undertake some exploit which should better their fortunes so that they could return to China free from danger. It seems certain that this resolve was talked about with the multitude of the Parián who were least supplied with funds, and these were on the watch to aid the bold attempt of those promoters if the result had corresponded to their plans; and what is most surprising is the secrecy with which they kept these from the rich Sangleys—who not only would not have entered into the plot, but would have revealed it for their own safety; for they were going to lose much and gain little, and with very evident risk. The day and hour of the conspiracy having been settled—a day in the month of August, at daylight—they assembled in a disorderly crowd, armed with such weapons as they could procure by stealth, their leader being one who had newly come, that same year, from China. In a mob, and without order, they attacked the house of the alguacil-mayor, Pedro de Ortega; and they killed him and another Spaniard, named Nicolás de Ballena. With this beginning they went to the house of the alcalde-mayor of the Parián, Captain Don Diego Vivién, and entered

it to do the same to him; but, having heard the noise, he escaped without clothing, and reached a safe place in the little fort which defends the entrance to the great bridge, where there is always a garrison of soldiers. The insurgents entered his house, and their greed satisfied itself on what they found nearest to their hands, although they had not the luck to find three thousand pesos in silver which the alcalde possessed. While they halted for this pillage there was time to bring up soldiers and other armed men, and they easily arrested many of the Sangleys, although most of them escaped; and the rest of the Parián remained tranquil. It was made known that this conspiracy was plotted in the bakery of Manila, and [it was said] that they intended to place pounded glass in the bread, in order to kill the Spaniards. This was not positively ascertained, but the management of that business was taken from the Chinese—to which, however, they afterward returned, at the urgent request of our people. This was because, during the time while the Sangleys did not carry on this trade, they were replaced by Spaniards who in their own country had been bakers, but in Manila they did not succeed in doing anything to advantage; the Sangleys therefore again took charge of the bakery, after they had been asked by many to furnish the supply of bread, of which great quantities are consumed in Manila.

The Sangley Tingco was captured, and in company with ten others was hanged and quartered; and the bodies were placed along the river of Manila and the estuary of Tondo, as far as Point Tañón in Tambobong. The conversion of those who were heathens (as were most of them) was secured, and

for this conversion labored earnestly father Fray Álvaro de Benavente, an Augustinian, and Father José de Irigoyen of the Society of Jesus, both of whom knew the dialects of the provinces from which the criminals came; and for those of Fo-Kien the fathers of St. Dominic [ministered]. News came that many of the insurgents had taken refuge at Pasay, and General Don Tomás de Endaya went out against them with soldiers and Merdicas (who are very brave Malay Indians); they came back with eleven heads of those whom they could kill, and the disturbance was quieted, nor has any other occurred up to the present time.

In this danger Manila maintains her existence, clinging to it as the means of her preservation even though she grieves over what is the cause of her greatest decline. The shrewdness of the Chinese in business dealings and their skill in carrying on the mechanical trades turn us from these callings so entirely that Spaniards who in their own country practiced them here consider it foolish to do so; accordingly they allow the Chinese to conduct and manage the crafts, believing that the latter are serving us when they are most imposing upon us. And as the Chinese recognize this weakness of ours, and see that it is without remedy, on account of the Spanish vanity, they treat us with contempt in their acts, although with great submission in their words. Whatever they make is defective and does not wear well, in order that they may have more work to do. The unnecessary expense that Manila suffers on account of the frauds that they practice in the trades of baker, candle-maker, and silversmith is very great; we recognize this, and endure it through

necessity, and the matter is not set right, through reluctance to apply the remedy. Many persons understand the injury which the Chinese cause here, but much more numerous are those who defend them, since this peril is dear to those who regard it as an advantage [to have the Chinese here.]

In the year 1678 there reached our hands a very judicious opinion, printed at Madrid by a devout person who had had experience in dealing with that nation, and was well aware of their acts of guile. It was presented before the royal and supreme Council of the Indias, its president being the Conde de Medellín; and when the arguments adduced therein made a very strong impression, another pamphlet appeared in print at the same court, against the former one and in favor of the Sangleys; this delayed the decision, so that it seems as if they have in all quarters those who defend them. And so we go on, enduring this incurable disease – although today the number of the Sangleys is less than ever; for it is supposed that the number does not reach the six thousand whom the royal decrees allow, and judging by the poverty to which the commonwealth of Manila is steadily being reduced, each year there will be fewer Chinese here through the lack of profits; for that is the craving which draws them from their own country.

I am aware that I have expatiated on a matter which seems to be an affair of state, rather than of history, although history, as a teacher of truth and a witness of the times, should include all events. I much regret that I cannot enlarge my account by saying something of the much which I could tell about the great indifference with which the Sangleys

who are baptized attend to their obligations as Christians; most of them do so for worldly objects, such as being married and living as lords of the country; but this subject is one for tears rather than for the pen. Many lamentations have been made by many Jeremiahs zealous for the honor of God; but no results have followed beyond the reward which will be given to them in glory for this so holy labor. A very learned apologue is kept in the ecclesiastical archives, written by the reverend father Fray Alberto Collares of the Order of Preachers, at the request of the archbishop of Manila, Doctor Don Miguel Millán de Poblete, which causes horror to those who read it; and the worst is, that it tells but little, according to the opinion of other religious of the said order, who, as ministers to the Parián mission, know the Chinese best. And still more is this occasion for censure to some of the religious of that order who have been in China, and know how much superior the Christians of that empire are to these; and therefore they take great care to prevent those who come from China (who are few) from holding intercourse with the Christians of the Parián, in order that these may not corrupt them. Thus do they look upon the matter; and when in our convent at Manila was lodged Don Fray Gregorio López, a Basilitan¹¹¹ bishop of the Order of Preachers, a Chinese by nationality – who was a phoenix among that people, on account of his virtue and sanc-

¹¹¹ *Basilitano* obviously refers to some suppressed or extinct see in pagandom, and Fray López would now be styled a "titular bishop." The word cannot be found in the lexicons or gazetteers of classical, mediæval, and early Christian geographical terms; and it is evidently an adjective of local meaning.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

tity – he prevented from going to the Parián, whenever he could, two good Chinese Christians whom he brought hither in his company.

Many (and most) persons are greatly deceived in imagining that the Sangleys who live among the Indian natives outside of Manila do no harm to the faith, saying that the Chinese are more atheists than idolaters, and that they only seek worldly advantages. But this is not always the rule, for some teach sects and doctrines that are very evil, as experience shows. In the year 1706, father Fray Antolín de Alzaga, one of the apostolic missionaries whom we have in the remote mountains of the province of Pampanga, converting and instructing the warlike peoples called Italones, Ituriés, and Abacas – whose wonderful conversions present notable material to him whose duty it is to write the history of those times – this apostolic missionary came to Manila, making light of the hardships of [travel by] those roads so long and rough, in order to ask the governor, Don Domingo de Zabalburu, to take measures for banishing from these mountains two infidel Sangleys, who with greed for the trade in wax had penetrated even those unexplored hills, where they taught false dogmas and perverse opinions, such as palingenesis, or transmigration of souls – a dogma which Pythagoras taught, and which was propagated much among heathen peoples. At the present time it is accepted by all nations of Asia, and in China and Japon with the greatest tenacity; they believe that when a man dies his soul goes to animate another body, either rational or brute, according to the deserts of him who is dead, and for either punishment or reward; and thus they allot an infin-

ite succession of transmigrations. This diabolical dogma was taught by these Sangleys to the Italon Indians, with other evil doctrines, such as polygamy (which permits a man to have many wives), idolatry, and others which ensue from it. That accursed doctrine spread rapidly among those simple mountaineers, so much so that it became necessary to have recourse to the said governor – who, being so zealous for the increase of the Christian faith, sent to the alcalde-mayor of Pampanga a very urgent command to expel from those missions the two Sangleys, and to be very careful to prevent the entrance of others therein; and this order was carried out, to the great tranquillity of the new Christian church. Experience has shown the same thing in other villages where Sangleys have fixed abodes. I will not delay longer over a matter on which there is an endless amount to be said, since I have sufficiently exceeded the limits of my obligation; and I refer to many persons who have officially discussed these matters, although they have obtained no results from their earnest efforts.

The natives regard them with contempt, having no further inclination toward them than that of self-interest; consequently, neither affection nor fear draws either toward the other. And ordinarily selfishness courts the Sangleys, while aversion urges the natives to make complaints against them – except that the bond of matrimony is a check on the women; for, as is usually the case, if a native leads a bad life, he is on the watch for the acts of the Sangleys, in order to make the evil-doing of another serve as an excuse for greater freedom in his own wrong mode of life. Accordingly, they are in more danger from

testimony arising from the malice of the accusers than from facts brought forward in zeal for their correction – as is seen by the few complaints or accusations that are decided against them, and how still more rarely do these bring them to punishment. Nor can this be attributed to the negligence of the judges, for they are delighted to receive the lawsuits of the Sangleys, our covetousness selling to them even justice very dear; and when harshness finds an object, it makes their punishments (since their wealth offers so much to avarice), although less bloody, more keenly felt, since in the estimation of the Sangley money is his very heart's blood.

The precedents set by the sovereign kings Don Fernando the Catholic and Don Felipe II are examples of their piety, and of their successful policy in separating from their Catholic vassals those who are perfidious, who if mingled with the others might pervert them, through the passion which the Indians and Moros have for propagating their [false] sects – a danger much to be feared among the simple people of the villages and the common herd.

No doubt, intercourse with these infidels is very necessary, on account of the merchandise which they furnish to us from their kingdom; but this could, in my opinion, be accomplished without danger to us – for one thing, by permitting to remain in these islands [only the] six thousand Sangleys, as his Majesty decrees; and for another, by not permitting them to trade in the provinces, or to live in the villages mingled with the Indians. But they should be kept in subjection, as Joshua kept down the Gaboanites, and as now Roma, Florencia, Venecia, and Orán hold the Jews in subjection, and our people in

Ternate kept the Moros in his Majesty's galleys, the rabble of that sort. It is an obvious disadvantage to live subjected to such peoples, because the law of subjection, the adulation offered to rulers, and ambition to secure their favor are powerful to subject religion to their pleasure, as has been found by experience in all the countries where this misfortune has been suffered – such as Mesopotamia, both the Arabias, Egipto, and Africa, and that one which was the supporter of religion, Constantinopla, with all of Grecia. And for the same reason heresy has so prevailed and lorded it in Inglaterra, Irlanda, Dinamarca, Suecia, Sajonia, [*i.e.*, Saxony], the Palatinate, and many other provinces and free cities – the most fatal poison that attacks the faith being the sovereignty of infidel princes, their grandeur and power being the sure ruin of religion. I consider that I have used more space than is required by my obligations, in treating of so pernicious a nation, which is allowed here in greater number than our needs demand – I know not whether through our fault or our misfortune – and maintained in the subjection which experience has shown [to be necessary] at times when too great confidence has relaxed the rein of caution.

[Here we resume the regular narrative of this period by Diaz, at p. 786:] This revolt caused great anxiety to the governor, Don Gabriel Curuce-laegui, on account of the many champans which had come that year from China; but in the course of time the danger disappeared.

Among the great hardships which in this year were suffered in Manila, one was that the rains were heavier than any known to living men. Not only

were they very heavy, but they lasted many months, and were the cause of many fields and crops being ruined, which caused a great scarcity of provisions; and, as it was impossible to work the salt-beds, the price of salt rose so high that it came to be worth twelve pesos for half a fanega, although its ordinary price was two or three reals – and some years even less, depending on the [height of the] water and on the heat of the sun, on which conditions this so necessary industry depends.

The most memorable event of this year, and one which may be counted among the most important which have occurred in these islands since their conquest, is the imprisonment of the auditors, Don Diego Antonio de Viga and Don Pedro Sebastián de Bolivar, by the governor. It is an event to cause astonishment – and more, as it came so soon after the imprisonment and exile of the archbishop, Don Fray Felipe Pardo – at seeing in so short a time Doctor Don Cristóbal de Herrera Grimaldos dead, and two auditors deprived forever of their togas (since never again could they put these on), and their families ruined and almost destroyed. It is not my intention to interpret the inscrutable secrets of divine justice, but only to set down the times and occasions in which so notable events occurred. [Diaz's account of the imprisonment and deaths of the auditors is here omitted, as it has already been sufficiently related in VOL. XXXIX.]

CHAPTER XVII

The governor, seeing the Audiencia broken up (since it consisted of only one individual, the auditor Don Diego Calderón), named two associates to assist

the auditor in despatching the business of this supreme tribunal; these were Licentiate Don José de Herrera, an advocate of the royal Audiencia, and the doctor and captain whom I have already mentioned, Don José de Cervantes Altamirano; and they issued royal decrees, Doctor Don Esteban de la Fuente filling his office of fiscal. They alleged that there had been a precedent for this in the time of Governor Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, when there was no other auditor than Don Marcos Zapata, by whose aid was carried out the banishment and imprisonment of Don Fray Fernando Guerrero – and this proceeding had been an example to be repeated in these times. Afterward, on account of the sickness and death of Don Diego Calderón, the governor continued to form an Audiencia with the two associates, which the royal Council of the Indias condemned.

Under this kind of government two years passed by, until, in the year 1688, a new Audiencia arrived, as we shall soon see. The year 1687 was no less grievous than the preceding one, for various misfortunes followed each other, which were generally felt by all the citizens, in order that they might share in the punishment merited by their offenses, since always proves true the proverb, *Delirant reges, semper plectuntur Achiivi*.¹¹² The first was the failure of the galleon from Nueva España, for it could not come that year because none had been despatched [from Manila] the year before; this was because of the armada sent against the pirates, which only served to cause great expenses to the royal treasury,

¹¹² See the *Epodes* of Horatius, i, 2, l. 14; at first referring to the Greeks before Troy, but afterward becoming a general proverb – “Whatever errors the great may commit, the people must atone for.”

the wreck of the galleon "Santo Niño," and the failure of the galleon in this and the following years – which, as we have often said, is the life of the poor colony of Manila and of all these Filipinas Islands.

The governor, having determined to send to Nueva España the galleon "Santo Niño," ordered that it be repaired as well as it could be; but even then it was not very strong, because most of its strength had been taken from it by the windows which had been opened in it for the artillery. But there was no other ship to depend upon, for the construction of the "Santo Cristo de Burgos," which they had placed on the stocks, was only begun. The governor appointed as its commander Lucas Mateo Urquina, who sailed for Nueva España with but slight hope on the part of those who understood the situation for the success of the voyage. The worst was, that their fears were realized; for the galleon not being able to endure the fierce storms that attacked it in high latitudes, it was compelled to put back to port. This it did, about the month of November, causing great affliction to all; for it came only to aggravate the sufferings that were already experienced through the failure to receive a galleon that year.

At night of Holy Thursday, March 28, at the time when in the village of Binondo arrangements were being made for the procession which the mestizo Sangleyes make on the occasion of the "holy burial," (which is one of the most brilliant and magnificent of the processions that are made in Holy Week), one of the greatest disasters that have ever been seen in these islands occurred. Fire caught in the first house on the point of land which is called Punta de

la Estacada, and the crowd of people who had made ready for this devout function were unable to extinguish the fire; and the devouring flames made such havoc that they destroyed the great number of houses that stood in all the territory of the said Estacada, Baybay, and Tondo, finally consuming the entire barrio of Bancusay, in which this so widespread settlement [of Sangleys] finds its limit. It was no small good-fortune that the fire passed by the other side of the river, where lies the great town of Binondoc, Tondo, Santa Cruz, and Quiapo – which, as contiguous villages, together constitute one body – for [if the fire had reached them] the loss would have been irreparable; for many splendid houses of wealthy Spaniards and mestizos would have been consumed, and those of many Portuguese and Armenian traders who live in those places as being more convenient [for their business]. There were no deaths of persons from the flames; but great was the loss of the many people who saw their poor houses and property disappear.

The gates of Manila were opened, and the governor in person hastened to give aid, with a great number of people, who could check the fire so that it should not cross over to the other part of Binondoc and Tondo. What was more, he prevented the robberies which in such emergencies are committed by some soldiers and wicked people, who on such occasions are worse than the fire, as has been found by experience at various times; for in times of drouth fires are very frequent in the suburbs of Manila, most of them being occasioned by fire set by these soulless incendiaries, who find their profit in such destruction.

To this local calamity at La Estacada succeeded

another affliction, which was general through the greater part of these islands; this was a plague of locusts, one of the worst which has been seen in them, for the locusts were so many that in dense and opaque clouds they darkened the sun, and covered the ground on which they settled. These insects ravaged the grain-fields, and left the meadows scorched; and even the trees and canebrakes they stripped of the green leaves. These locusts were so voracious that they not only laid waste every kind of herbage and verdure, but they entered the houses, and gnawed and pierced with holes every kind of cloth; and those who flapped sheets and coverlets at the locusts to drive them away – as is usually done at other times in the invasions of this pest, with some effect – on this occasion found that the only result was to ruin those articles, for the locusts ate them, and destroyed them with their poisonous jaws. Thereupon the people began to feel the loss which ensued from this calamity, in the great scarcity and want of provisions – so great that a cabán of rice (which is half a fanega) came to be worth two pesos and a half, and in some places three pesos. (Nor has the poverty been less which is being experienced while I am writing this, on account of the great plague of locusts which occurred in the past year of 1717 and the present one.) And it can be said that the poor died in great numbers, not so much because the rice (which is the general food of the regions) cost so much, as through their lack of forethought, and of money with which to buy rice; and because there was so excessive a number of beggars – some through necessity, and others through laziness and dislike for work – that it was impossible to relieve them; for

when there is but little to give it is not possible to divide it so that all shall be sufficiently cared for.

To these great troubles was added another; that in that year occurred many earthquakes, which although they did not cause the total destruction of buildings, left many houses and churches damaged. In the province of Cagayán, in the bishopric of Nueva Segovia, heavier shocks were experienced, for in the mountainous districts of that province chasms and vent-holes were opened, a phenomenon which usually results from such tremblings of the earth. From this it may be proved that a cause of these tremblings and earthquakes is the air which is shut in within the caverns of the globe, drawn into them through the crevices and openings which the heat causes in the soil, which afterward are closed by the rains; a great volume of air being thus gathered, it becomes rarefied, and, increasing in quantity or volume, it seeks an outlet, directing its force toward its center and causing so terrible a commotion. But the safe and useful way of maintaining ourselves faithful in the fulfilment of our obligations is to regard these earthquakes as tokens of the wrath of God against our transgressions, *Qui respicit terram et facit eam tremere* (Psalm ciii, v. 32).

Not long before these events, the death occurred in Cagayán of the auditor Licentiate Don Diego Antonio de Viga, a prisoner and exile in that province. [Here Diaz relates the circumstances of the deaths of Viga and other persons who had been concerned in the Pardo controversy, which have already been mentioned in previous documents. He cites a letter from Pardo to Curucelaegui, dated December 2, 1687, to show that Viga died impenitent; he was

buried in the cathedral of Lalo, and Pardo connects with this circumstance the calamities which soon afterward afflicted the islands. He orders the remains of Viga to be disinterred and removed from the cathedral; Diaz thinks that this was done, but is not quite certain. He positively asserts, however, that Viga was a very upright official, and wholly disinterested; and thinks that he perhaps went too far in upholding the royal privileges, through misunderstanding their scope. Doña Josefa Bolivar also dies impenitent, and Pardo sends Bachelor Don Juan de Cazorla to investigate the matter, to know whether she may be buried in consecrated ground; he has her buried "in the plaza of the said village of Oriong." Her husband meets "a better end;" he is reconciled to the Church, and dies after having "devoted himself to exercises of austere penance, fasts and scourgings and other mortifications." Auditor Calderón dies at Manila in like exemplary manner (July 18, 1687); "this auditor was a very upright and disinterested official, a good Christian, pious, and much given to good works, and therefore was beloved by the entire community." Master Jerónimo de Herrera is sentenced by the archbishop (March 16, 1687) to be deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices and offices, and is sent to Spain, but dies during the voyage. At this time, Barrientos, the bishop of Troya, is absent on official duties in the bishopric of Nueva Segovia. He had "issued a decree of excommunication against the alcaldes-mayor of Cagayán, Ilocos, and Pangasinán, prohibiting to them trade and traffic in those provinces, in virtue of the oath which those officials take in the royal Audiencia when they go to exercise their offices. This excommunica-

tion was the cause of many lawsuits, for Captain Don Francisco de Alzaga Voitia, alcalde-mayor of Pangasinán, defended them all, and appeared before the royal Audiencia with a plea of fuerza, complaining that the bishop of Troya was usurping the royal jurisdiction by taking cognizance of the oath taken in that court. . . . On this question royal decrees were issued, and the controversy lasted a long time, but the excommunication then laid has remained until this day; and the alcaldes-mayor continue with their trade and traffic as before, without the least scruple." Returning to Manila, Barrientos declines the bishopric of Nueva Segovia, to which he is entitled as Pardo's assistant; the archbishop therefore despatches to take charge of that diocese Doctor Nicolás de la Vega Caballero, then cura of Cavite.]

This province assumed charge of the ministry in the territory of Mariquina and Jesús de la Peña, which in times past was a dependency of the mission station of Pasig. It had been administered by the religious of the Society, by commission of Don Fray Pedro Arce, bishop of Cebú and ruler of the archbishopric of Manila, and by approval of Governor Don Juan Niño de Tabora, since the year 1630; and now it was restored to the ministry of Pasig by sentence of the archbishop, May 16, 1687, and this province added to that territory the convent of San Mateo — establishing the headquarters and residence of the minister at Mariquina, whose titular saint is our Lady of Protection; its first minister was father Fray Simón Martínez. The aforesaid archbishop also added to the said village of Pasig the mission village of San Andrés Apóstol de Cainta, also administered by the said religious of the Society, by

decree of March 16, 1688 – with the approbation, not only of this, but of the separation of Mariquina, by the vice-patron, Governor Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui. Its first minister was father Fray José del Valle, and it was preserved as a separate convent with the title of vicariate.¹¹³

We held these ministries, with great labor and inconvenience, until the year 1696, when there arrived a royal decree that they should again be administered by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, and we therefore surrendered them to those fathers. In order to show further our good-will and friendly relations with so holy a religious order, we exchanged the ministry of San Mateo for that of Binangonan – called “Binangonan of the dogs,” to distinguish it from the other town of the same name, which is on the opposite coast [of the island]; it has for its titular St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins her companions, in a church in Laguna de Bay. This was accomplished by the aid of the consent and approbation of the governor, Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora. This village of Binangonan is very small, and had been at first administered by the

¹¹³ Father Fray Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, in his *Historia de Filipinas* (pp. 384 *et seq.*), relates the foundation of the curacy of Mariquina, its separation from that of Pasig, and the means by which this was effected, as also the incorporation [that is, again with Pasig] which is here mentioned, and their final separation. And as his account differs considerably from that of Father Diaz, and we lack the data for deciding which of them is correct, we refer the reader to that work that he may examine, compare, and decide. Father Diaz, however, may have remained silent on the vexed questions to which that establishment gave rise, through consideration of prudence and of respect to the living; and in that case there is no contradiction, but justifiable omissions. – FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

The Jesuit account of this controversy is presented by Murillo Velarde in *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 344 b, 345.

religious of St. Francis, who had exchanged it for the ministry of Baras, which also belonged to the religious of the Society; and because it was so poor a living a visita was added to it from the ministry of Pasig, which is called Angono – its patron saint being St. Clement, pope and martyr – of a few tribute-payers. To this ministry were added fifty pesos more for its support, but it is so forlorn a one that even with all these aids the minister suffers a great lack of means for his support; and therefore on many occasions there has been talk of abandoning this charge, for it is not good for any other profit, either spiritual or temporal – not only on account of its poverty, but because of the intractable disposition of its people.

On February 19 of this year of 1688, our then father provincial, Fray Juan de Jeréz, died in the convent of Manila; his illness was caused by the great hardships of his visitation of the entire province, and the eagerness with which he undertook to perform this task in one year, while it was a task for two years, especially since he was sixty-two years old, and had many attacks of illness. At last he ended the visitation, but it put an end to him. He was one of the most exact in fulfilling obligations of all the religious who have been in this province, and great was his zeal for the religious observance. His solicitude and care for adornment in the things belonging to the divine worship was continual, using his utmost endeavors that the altars and ornaments should be the best that were possible, and spending on them all that he could obtain. The first indication of his [approaching] death was that he was freed from the scruples of conscience which had

been throughout his life a continual torment; but at that time the Lord, who had given him these scruples in order to exercise his soul, *imperavit ventis et mari, et facta est tranquillitas* (Matthew viii, v. 26). His death was deeply regretted by all; for this province loved him as a father, and the people venerated him as a saint. In consequence of his death, the government was assumed by our father Fray José Duque, as being next to the provincial, with the title of rector-provincial; for in this province could not be observed the same rule as in those of España, where our very reverend father general makes appointments for the vacancies caused by the deaths of provincials, until the time appointed for convening the provincial chapter.

Among the troubles and calamities of this year a very great one was that occasioned by a pestilential epidemic of influenza, which had begun in the preceding year and continued in this year of 1688, with great ravages. Many died of this disease, especially children and old persons; and by this year the epidemic had so increased that many grain-fields could not be cultivated, for lack of people to do the work. This caused a great lack of provisions in this and the following years, just as the locusts had occasioned like loss in the preceding year. So prevalent was the disease that in the province of Pampanga, where I was serving in the village of Guagua, as secretary and assistant of the rector-provincial, the Indians were not seen in the streets, on account of most of them being prostrated by the cruel influenza, and the rest of them caring for the sick ones. Accordingly the deputies and officials of the confraternities went through the streets with jars of [cooked]

rice, and went up into the houses and provided those who were in need with food; for most of the people were without it, and others could not cook it and had no one who was able to do so. These influencias are very frequent in this country, but that in this year was the worst that the old men have seen; and since then, up to the present time, no other like it has been known.

The governor, Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui, desired to put a stop to the outrages which were being committed by the rebellious blacks of the mountains and the Zambals of the Playa Honda and the uninhabited places of the Puntalón (a route in the province of Pangasinán) – killing many travelers and cutting off their heads (which is the greatest trophy and desire of those people), and daring to approach the villages near Tarlac – Magalan, Telban, and Malunguey. The governor therefore prepared to make a vigorous invasion, not only with Spaniards, but with Pampangos, friendly Zambals, and Merdicas from Maluco; and he appointed as their leader Sargento-mayor Martín de León, and gave him [for officers], as being men experienced in that sort of war, Captain Alonso Martín Franco and Captain Bartolomé Prieto; the master-of-camp of the Merdicas, Cachil-Duco, the prince of Tidori; and Sargento-mayor Pedro Machado. He sent orders to the alcaldes-mayor of Cagayán and Pangasinán that they, with the best troops that they had, should scout through the mountains from north to south, so that they might go on until they should meet Martín de León and his companions, up to a locality and settlement of blacks that is called Culianán. Both parties carried out this plan,

although with great difficulty, on account of those forests being very dense; they killed many insurgent blacks and Zambals; but before joining their troops they found themselves obliged to retreat, because the epidemic of pestilential influenza made great havoc among them, and many died from that disease. But the injury which our people could not inflict upon the enemy was wrought on them by the pest of the influenza, which caused as great ravages among them as the smallpox had made in previous years. Martín de León, Alonso Martín Franco, and Bartolomé Prieto came to Guagua in very bad condition; from there they sent word to the governor, who commanded them to withdraw [from the enterprise].

CHAPTER XVIII

The Conde de Mondova,¹¹⁴ viceroy of Nueva España, seeing that for two successive years there had been no galleons from Filipinas, [influenced] not only by the order which the royal Council has given for such emergencies, but by finding that he was responsible for the despatch of the investigating judge and the new royal Audiencia who were on their way to these islands to replace and depose the auditors (whom either death or exile had already deposed), ordered that a Peruvian patache be made ready which was then at Acapulco, the owner of

¹¹⁴ Melchor Portocarrero, Lasso de la Vega, Condé de Mondove (misprinted in our text Mondova), succeeded the Marqués de la Laguna as viceroy of Mexico, on November 30, 1686; his administration lasted nearly two years, and he was an upright and vigilant ruler. He failed, however, to protect the Indian natives from cruel oppressions by the Spaniards. He was commonly known as Brazo de la Plata, or "Silver Arm," on account of wearing a false arm, his own having been lost in battle. (Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii, p. 221.)

which was Felipe Vertis, a citizen of Callao. The viceroy appointed as its commander the then admiral of the Windward fleet, Antonio de Astina, a native of San Sebastián; and for seamen the best who were found in the said armada. In this patache embarked the following persons: The investigating judge, who was Licentiate Don Francisco Campos Valdivia, then *alcalde de casa y corte*¹¹⁵ of Madrid, and royal deputy provincial notary at the said court. The new auditors, of whom the senior was Licentiate Don Alonso Abellafuertes, a knight of the Order of Alcántara, a native of Oviedo, who had recently finished his term as corregidor of the city of Burgos; [the others were] Licentiate Don Juan de Sierra y Osorio, a knight of the Order of Calatrava, an Asturian, and Doctor Don Lorenzo de Acina y Havarría, a native of Sevilla – who is still living as a religious and priest, a professed of the fourth vow in the Society of Jesus, who is an example of virtue and truly exemplary. The auditor second in seniority, Licentiate Don Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, a native of Lima, failed to embark on this occasion, on account of being married and having a large family, but did so in the following year. As fiscal for his Majesty came Licentiate Don Jerónimo de Barredo Valdés, also an Asturian. All these four auditors carried appointments as criminal auditors for Méjico at the expiration of six years which they

¹¹⁵ "An antiquated term, signifying a togated judge, one of those who in the court composed what was called "the tribunal of alcaides," who, together, constituted the fifth tribunal of the famous Council of Castilla. These alcaides no longer exist, nor does the tribunal which they formed; because an Audiencia has been established at Madrid, according to a decree of January 20, 1834." (Dominguez.)

were to spend in Filipinas, exercising the functions of auditor; and this went into force afterward with Auditors Alonso de Abellafuertes and Don Juan de Ozaeta, who, after the six years, went to Mexico. Don Juan de Sierra also returned, having completed his term as auditor, and died at Acapulco, where he found letters promoting him to be auditor at Granada; for it must have been of some service to him to be a nephew of Don Lope de Sierra, a member of the supreme Council of the Indias.

With the new auditors also embarked very distinguished persons of their kindred and households, such as Don Manuel de Argüelles, an Asturian, who is still alive, and a general; Don Juan Infanzón, and Don Francisco Giménez de Valerio; the owner of the patache, Felipe de Vertis; and others. On this occasion also came father Fray Juan de Alarcón, a native of Valladolid and a son of the [Augustinian] house there; he had been left in Nueva España, and was now very old. He retired to this province (for which he had enlisted in 1679), and served only a few years on account of poor health; and, while he was procurator-general, died in the convent of Manila, in the year 1695.

This patache made its voyage very prosperously, and passed the Embocadero without any difficulty, reaching the port of Cavite, where it remained until Mateo de Urquiza sailed with the galleon "Santo Christo de Burgos" for Nueva España. This privilege of entering the port of Cavite is, it seems, enjoyed as their own by all the pataches which come from Acapulco, which are not built in these islands; as it were, they are free from the sin which they contract in the acts of oppression and tyranny which are

committed, not only in the cutting of the timber for them, but in their construction; and, either for this or for other and hidden causes, hardly a galleon built in these islands succeeds in making the entrance of the port of Cavite.

The auditors on reaching Manila took possession of their offices in the hall of the Audiencia, which they found empty of their predecessors – some being dead, and another in banishment – and the only one they found living was the fiscal, Don Esteban de la Fuente Alanis. The investigating judge likewise found the greater part of his commission accomplished, which was the deposition of the auditors. He sent for Don Pedro Bolivar, who was a prisoner in Cagayán, in the fort of Tuao; but he died while on the way, at one of the first villages of the province of Ilocos; God gave him a very good end, in return for the many excellent traits that he displayed in his life, such as being very courteous and very charitable to the poor.

To Governor Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui came very favorable decrees from his Majesty – who thanked him for what he had done in the restitution of the archbishop, in which his Majesty considered himself well served. To the archbishop came others, also very favorable, which I do not insert here, in order to avoid being tedious, and because that is not in my obligation; and I only repeat here a letter or bull which his Holiness Pope Innocent XI sent to the archbishop, since that is a very unusual favor, and because he was a pontiff so greatly to be venerated by posterity, on account of his great sanctity of life. [The letter is given in both Latin and Spanish; it simply expresses the approval of the pope for

Pardo's course, and encouragement to persevere if he shall encounter other like trials.]

The news of what had been done in the banishment and confinement of the archbishop produced great disturbance in the royal mind of his Majesty and in his ministers of the supreme Council of the Indias, as may be imagined from the punishment which by their orders was inflicted on Don Juan de Vargas and on the auditors and the other persons inculpated therein. It is not denied by this atonement and punishment that many cases can occur in which it may be lawful to banish bishops and ecclesiastical superiors; and this matter is treated at length [*lato modo*] and very judiciously by many writers – Don Cristóbal Crespi de Valduera, vice-chancellor of Aragon, in his learned *Observaciones*, obs. iii, illat. iii, no. 19; Solórzano, *De jure Indico*, tom. ii, lib. iii, chap. 29, no. 71; Salgado, *De regia potestate*, part i, chap. 2, no. 276; and others. But this is executed by legitimate procedure, and with much circumspection and moderation, without touching or impeding the exercise of the episcopal power (the opposite seems to be an Anglican dogma, and one of Marsilius de Padua), as was done with Don Fray Felipe Pardo – confining his person in the village of Lingayén, and suspending his spiritual jurisdiction; commanding the cabildo to exercise the right of *sede vacante*; and not accepting the appointment which the archbishop had made of the bishop of Troya to govern in his absence – because this does not concern the temporal revenues, which the prelates who incur the penalty of banishment lose. What causes no little wonder is, that all the auditors were very learned, and they four, with the fiscal, had held

chairs in [the universities of] Méjico, Sevilla, and Granada; but when one lacks the fear of God, which is the beginning of wisdom, one cannot gain real success in matters in which his will prevails over his judgment. How useful it would be to the governors and auditors of Filipinas to have these words written as a reminder in the hall where they transact business, the words of the Holy Ghost in chapter vi, no. 3 of Wisdom.¹¹⁶

The first step made by the investigating judge was to imprison in his own house the fiscal, Doctor Don Estebán de la Fuente Alanís, and to bring charges against him, in accordance with the orders that he carried from the royal Council of the Indias; he did the same with the other auditors, [although they were] dead, through their executors. He proceeded with the residencia of Don Juan de Vargas, which had been delayed by the challenging of the associate judges; and he sent Governor Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado into exile in the village of Lingayén, where the archbishop had been, and he was taken away by an escort of soldiers, under the command of Sargento-mayor Martínez León. He went hither as

¹¹⁶ Reference is here made to the Book of Wisdom, which is found in the Douay Bible next after Solomon's "Canticle of Canticles" ("Song of Songs," in the Protestant Bible); it does not, however, occur in the Vulgate. The passage here cited (in Latin, in Díaz's text) reads thus in the Douay (English) version: "Learn, ye that are judges of the ends of the earth. Give ear, you that rule the people, and that please yourselves in multitudes of nations. For power is given you by the Lord, and strength by the Most High, who will examine your works, and search out your thoughts: because being ministers of his kingdom, you have not judged rightly, nor kept the law of justice, nor walked according to the will of God. Horribly and speedily will he appear to you: for a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule." These words are found in verses 2-6 of chapter vi.

excommunicated, and unable to have any intercourse with any person save those allowed by law. Upon his arrival at the said village, he built in it a house of bamboo and nipa, where he lived a long time in company with his spirited wife, Doña Isabel de Ardila, enduring much loneliness and lack of respect, until they recalled him, after two years, in order to send him to España; and he died during this first voyage [*i.e.*, on the Pacific Ocean].

This gentleman was truly unfortunate, for although he had not been a bad governor, his lack of courtesy and his harsh disposition gained for him many enemies. The time of his rule was very prosperous, and the ample commerce with the neighboring kingdoms engaged many persons and brought great gains. He was very diligent in keeping the Manila garrison strengthened with capable soldiers, and took much pains to have the men well fed and clothed, and military discipline strictly maintained – and in this he was surpassed only by Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera. His covetousness was not so great as appearances indicated, and with it he did not injure the commonwealth, for those times furnished [profit] for all. He was very punctual in fulfilling the duties of a Christian governor, and also in attending, almost without missing a day, all the sessions of the Audiencia and royal court; and therefore the lawsuits were not so interminable as we find them at the present time.

In his time came a royal decree that investigation should be made of the lawfulness of the slavery in which any were held, and that those persons whose condition of servitude was not well grounded should be set free. This action seems somewhat harsh; for

so many persons of different nationality were liberated that both the Spaniards and the natives were left destitute of servants, and the city and the villages were full of beggars – and, what is worse, of thieves and incendiaries. This dispossession would have caused the utmost distress if General Cristóbal Romero, the castellan of Santiago, had not resolved to write to the king our sovereign about it, with arguments so forcible that a royal decree came directing that the execution of the other be suspended.

The new fiscal of his Majesty, Don Jerónimo Barredo y Valdés, a young man of suitable age [for this lady?] married the widow of Auditor Don Cristóbal Grimaldos, Doña María Manuela Carrillo y Barrientos – a woman in whom, although great was her beauty, virtue was still greater, and she furnished an excellent example in the time of her widowhood, suffering continually the siege and attacks made against her chastity by influential persons. But God recompensed her by giving her a numerous offspring and long life, both in these islands and in the city of Méjico – from which place no news has come of her death, but we have heard that she has remained the widow of Don Jerónimo Barredo, who was many years the senior auditor of this royal Audiencia.

The investigating judge, Don Francisco Campos de Valdivia, brought [an order for] the liberation of the Marqués de Villasierra, Don Fernando de Valenzuela, because the term of ten years since his removal from the monastery of the Escorial was now completed. The judge went in person to Cavite, to notify him of the order and set him at liberty, as he did. The marqués left the port of Cavite and came

to Manila, but he took up his residence in a country-house which our Manila convent possesses, on a sugar-plantation called Pasay. This house is on the sea-shore, in a very convenient location for trips back and forth from Manila; and one can easily enjoy visits there, as it is only one legua distant from the city. Here the marqués lived during all the time while he had to wait and make preparations for his journey, in order to sail in the first galleon which should return to Nueva España; for such was the command given to him, until his Majesty should decide whether or not he should go to España.

He embarked in this year of 1689 and arrived at Méjico, where he found as viceroy the Conde de Galves,¹¹⁷ who, as the son of the Duke de Infantado, in whose service Don Fernando de Valenzuela had begun his career of fortune, received him very hospitably, as lords are wont to receive persons who have a claim upon such considerations. It seems as if the patient endurance of this gentleman had conquered the influences of fortune, so various and inconstant in his rise and fall; for it was said with good ground that he would be viceroy of Nueva España; but his death closed the term of his life, which was an astonishing one, and an example for the study of admonitions. His death was occasioned by the kick of a horse, and on the ninth day a fever

¹¹⁷ Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, Conde de Galve, assumed the office of viceroy of Nueva España on November 20, 1688. The coasts were infested with corsairs up to 1692, but Galve's preparations to exterminate them seem to have frightened them away. In 1690 and 1695 he sent expeditions against the French in Santo Domingo; in 1689, one to search for La Salle's Texas colony; and in 1693-94, to establish the town of Pensacola, Florida. At his own request, he was relieved from the office of viceroy, which he left February 27, 1696. He then returned to Spain, where he died soon afterward.

attacked him from which he died in a few days. He had previously fulfilled all the obligations of a Christian, and ordered that his body be deposited in the hospice of this province, outside the walls of Méjico, where it remained until the marquesa his wife sent orders to convey it for burial to the city of Talavera. [Diaz here inserts a Latin epitaph on this cavalier, written by some person in Filipinas.]

The investigating judge with his notary managed so well that in ten months he had completed all the commissions which he brought with him; for he was a man of great activity and energy, and very skilful in judicial practice. He brought to an end the residencia of Don Juan de Vargas, which was much entangled, and had overstepped the peremptory limits of such judgments. He also tried those who were accomplices in the imprisonment of Master-of-camp Don Diego de Salcedo, of whom now few remained alive, and those were the least guilty; but these paid for all the rest, which usually is the purse from which [such acts] are paid. He was not as scrupulous as other ministers, and as he ought to be, although he affected to be very upright and just; and neither he nor his notary went back with empty hands, as was proved at Acapulco by some chests of his which were searched, notwithstanding the protests that he made that these were the documents belonging to his commission. In them were found very valuable goods, and very few documents; these would certainly aid him to pass his old age in the honorable post which was given to him as soon as he arrived at court, that of member of the Treasury Council, which he enjoyed for several years.

The archbishop brought to an end the suits which he had begun against the principal members of the

[cathedral] chapter, of whom only one had remained alive, the dean, Don Miguel Ortiz de Covarrubias; for the archdeacon, Don Francisco Deza, had died in an epidemic of influenza, and soon afterward Don Francisco Gutiérrez Briceño died suddenly in the village of Betis. Accordingly the dean, as head of the chapter and vicar-general, and the one who had been leader in the arrests of Master Juan González, the father provincial Fray Antonio Calderón, and the father professors Fray Juan Ibáñez and Fray Francisco de Vargas, on account of these and other occurrences made amends for all the chapter-members, and ended by going to Madrid. There he secured permission to return to Méjico, his native country, with half the income of a dean (which is very small), and with this spent the few years of life that remained to him, dying as a good priest.

While Governor Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui was most occupied in making ready the galleon in which were to return the investigating judge, Don Fernando de Valenzuela, Fiscal Don Estebán de la Fuente Alanis and the admiral of the Windward fleet, Don Antonio de Astina, with many other persons who were going to embark—such as the dean and father Fray Raimundo Verart, who was going as the archbishop's attorney—while busily engaged in these preparations he was assailed by death, by means of a painful suppression of urine, which in a few days ended his life, after he had received all the holy sacraments. He died at ten o'clock at night, on April 27, of this year 1689, at the age of more than sixty years. They buried him in our church at Manila, at the foot of the altar of the holy Christ of Burgos, to whom he had been very devoted, and had

gone punctually every Friday to hear his mass sung. With him were buried also the devotion and concourse to this sacred image, until they were revived twenty years later, during the term of government of the Conde de Lizárraga, Don Martín de Ursua y Arismendi; this is the usual condition of devotions in these islands, for they do not last long, and have their seasons, and these are not wont to be very long.

The death of this governor was much regretted by every one; he was worthy of being counted among the best whom these islands have had, because in him were united the highest qualities which are required to constitute an accomplished governor. He was very pacific, and so plain in his manners that he was censured for not maintaining his authority; he was very charitable, and magnanimous of heart, although small in body. He had the noble quality of being exceedingly disinterested, and of placing little value on riches – which in these regions, where covetousness has so many opportunities to tempt and conquer, is the greatest virtue; and it is such even throughout the world, since it is almost a miracle. . . . These islands did not keep him long, it may be because they did not deserve him. . . . For in these regions there is little regret for governors who are not good, and little esteem for those who are not bad; but he who rules can never find himself free from malcontents, because it is not his function to please every one. But, since goodness is better recognized after it is lost, the governor's death caused much regret. He left as his executor Master-of-camp Don Tomás de Endaya, and so small was his estate which they found that there was not even enough for the expenses of

his burial or for the mourning garb of his servants.

On account of his death, the military government was assumed by the senior auditor, Licentiate Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes, knight of the Order of Alcántara; and together with the royal Audiencia [he governed] also in civil affairs, as is decreed by royal commands. During the time while Don Alonso de Abella governed, which was sixteen months (for it was that length of time before Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora arrived), this commonwealth enjoyed great peace and tranquillity. If there were any dissensions in the ecclesiastical state, he took no part in them; and if it had not been for his great forethought those differences would have been greater, as will be related in the proper place.

With the death of the governor, and the excellent intentions of the temporary ruler, the affairs of Don Juan de Zalaeta assumed another shape. He had suffered great hardships and privations in his imprisonment and banishment, and all his property, even to his clothing, had been sold at auction; for before his departure from these islands the authorities had taken his residencia for the time when he was alcalde-mayor of Calamianes, and some charges against him resulted. The acting governor ordered that he be released from prison, and that both he and Don Miguel de Lezama should come to Manila, where their causes were settled with less harshness. Don Juan de Zalaeta returned to España, thoroughly warned by the bad outcome of the residencia of Don Juan de Vargas, which he had so eagerly desired, imagining that it would be of great honor and profit to him. He reached Madrid very poor, and ill provided with supplies, and died there suddenly. . . .

CHAPTER XIX

During the fourteen months which remained in the term of office of our father provincial Fray Juan de Jérez after his death, the province was governed by the experienced prelate our father Fray José Duque – so successfully and peaceably, and with so much tranquillity in the order, that he was able to moderate the great sorrow which all felt at the loss of the deceased provincial. In this peaceful condition the time came for holding the chapter-session, which took place in the convent at Manila, on April 30 of this year of 1689; father Fray Luis Díaz presided therein, as the eldest definitor of the preceding chapter. There was not much discussion among the fathers in their effort to find a person whom they might elect as provincial, because for a long time all had fixed their attention on father Fray Francisco de Zamora, who was then prior of the convent at Manila. He was a native of Medina del Campo, and a son of the convent at Valladolid, who had come to this province in the year 1669; a religious of great prudence, and unusual ability for governing; and for many years they had only delayed electing him until he should reach the age of forty years, since that is the time fixed in our Constitutions. They found that he lacked six months of that age, which, as he alleged, exempted him from election for so heavy a burden; but having investigated the matter, and basing their action on many previous precedents which had occurred not only in this province but in others, in which there had been dispensations [from the rule], the father who presided granted one in this case, as he was vicar-

general, and father Fray Francisco was elected provincial on the said date, April 30.

The definitors who were elected were fathers Fray Julián Zapata, Fray Juan de San Nicolás, Fray Gaspar de San Agustín, and Fray Simón Martínez. The visitors for the preceding triennium were present, fathers Fray Ignacio de Mercado and the reader Fray Francisco de Ugarte; and as new visitors were appointed father Fray Eusebio de Porras and the father reader Fray José López. Ordinances were enacted that were very useful for the better government of the province, and for the administration of the missions in our charge; this is the greatest responsibility of the chapters, because the system in this province is so different from that in the European provinces, which needs very different corporate laws for the preservation of each, and for enabling the individuals therein to fulfil the obligations of the religious without failing in those of parish priest – which in this province is the function of all its members, while in Perú and Nueva España it is the occupation of but few.

The governor *ad interim*, Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes, began to govern with so much prudence and ability that it seemed as if he had the benefit of long experience, although he had hardly known a few months of such responsibility. The principal cause of this was the concord in which he lived with all, as well as the aid which he received from his associates, Doctor Don Lorenzo de Acina and Don Juan de Sierra, who vied with each other in coöperating with their colleague in discharging the duties of his office. It is in this direction that the *ad interim* governments of auditors in these islands are weak and fail of success; for, peevish because the precedence

of seniority is not theirs, they try to obscure the credit of him who wields the rod of authority, and often show themselves as his worst enemies, and thus aristocratic rule is converted into democratic confusion.

His first care was the despatch of the galleon "Santo Niño" to Nueva España, in charge of General Don Antonio de Astina; for as this commander had left the office of admiral of the Windward fleet (for which he had a proprietary appointment from his Majesty the king), it was not just that a personage of so great merits should return as passenger—for the patache "San Fernando," in which he had come, was not fit for the return trip of so severe a navigation; and it had been laid aside, not only on this account, but because its owner, Felipe Vertis, had died suddenly. The investigating judge, the alcalde of court Don Francisco Campos de Valdivia, embarked with his notary; all the commissions which he carried from the supreme Council having been concluded, he carried [the documents concerning] them with him, as also the copious evidence in the residencia of Don Juan de Vargas—who remained for an indefinite time in banishment in the village of Lingayén, suffering the hardships and miseries of being an excommunicate, denounced as such on the church-doors, and with no consolation save his own courage and that of his wife, Doña Isabel de Ardila. Don Juan de Zalaeta embarked, under the obligation of presenting himself at Madrid with the proceedings in his case. The dean, Don Miguel Ortiz, was bound on the same errand; and father Fray Raimundo Verart went aboard with powers of attorney from the archbishop, in whose favor he printed a long and learned manifesto. The

galleon had a very prosperous voyage, duly arriving at Acapulco; and on the return trip it brought us the new proprietary governor.

In this year of 1689, came the end of the long and troubled life of the archbishop, Don Fray Felipe Pardo, who was sixty-eight years old, an age attained by few persons in these regions; and these years were rendered more painful by the many troubles and annoyances that had resisted his courage – which was very great, [although] in a small body. For many months he had been well prepared for this inevitable and impending event, as the devout religious that he was; and from his archiepiscopal palace he watched over and promoted the rigorous observance of the province of the Holy Rosary of the Order of Preachers. A Benjamin of the great patriarch St. Dominic,¹¹⁸ he came to this province in the year 1647, after having taught arts and theology in the famous college of San Gregorio at Valladolid; and he was therefore regarded as the greatest theological professor who had been in these islands. He was provincial during two quadrenniums, and prior of Manila for two more; and he was commissary of the Holy Office when the appointment as archbishop reached him. We have already seen his constancy in defending the episcopal authority. His charity was great, for he spent whatever was left from his income (which did not exceed five thousand pesos), in aiding the poor; and with it he assisted the missionaries of Tungkin. A nephew of his came to visit him, but he would not consent that the governor should give

¹¹⁸ Perhaps referring to the fact that Pardo was but fifteen years old when he entered the Dominican order, and to his high rank as a theologian and a prelate.

this man any office or position, and made him go back with very little outfit. His death would have been considered, in another man, sudden and unexpected; for he was found dead at midnight on the day of St. Sylvester, ending [his life] with the year, so that it could be said, *Et dies pleni inveniuntur in eis* (Ps. xii, v. 10). But this great prelate awaited the end of his days with full preparation, and had just given orders for the making of a red pontifical vestment in which he was to be buried; his body, embalmed, was deposited in the church of Santo Domingo at Manila.

The see being declared vacant, the cabildo assumed its government; and they could have ruled with great peace if they themselves had not hunted up discord where they had thought to find greater peace. The vacant see was ruled by Master Juan González de Guzmán, who was now dean on account of the absence of Don Miguel Ortiz, and at the same time was provisor and vicar-general of the cabildo; and as it seemed to them that it would be expedient, for the greater authority of the diocese, to cede the government to the bishop of Troya, Don Fray Ginés Barrientos, they named him as its head. From this ensued great dissensions, for the bishop-governor thought that he was superior to the cabildo, and that they had transferred their authority to him, leaving themselves entirely stripped of it; this is contrary to all the teachings of the sacred canons, which in one precept of law declare: *Privilegio, quod habes propter me, non potes uti contra me*; and the established principle which states: *Propter quod unumquodque tale, illud magis*.¹¹⁹ They tried to persuade him, by very

¹¹⁹ The first of these citations reads in English: "The privi-

learned manifestoes, that the cabildo alone could have constituted him its vicar-general, with authority removable at the pleasure of the same cabildo; and that they could therefore revoke the appointment which they had conferred upon him, whenever they pleased. But the bishop of Troya resolved not to yield, but to act as superior to and independent of the cabildo. There were bitter disputes, proceeding from both sides, so much so that, in order to avoid greater scandals, two members of the cabildo – the dean, Master Juan González de Guzmán, and the cantor, Don Estebán de Olmedo Gabaldón, a native of Campo de Cricana in La Mancha – took refuge in our convent of San Pablo at Manila, from which the bishop of Troya would have taken them, if the prudent governor, Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes, had not refused to give him the aid which he asked for that exploit.

The bishop of Troya was very learned, a great theologian and preacher, but in this matter he erred as a man, for it seemed to him that the rank and consecration of a bishop rendered him superior on that occasion to the authority which the cabildo possessed by law in the vacant see. Among many other manifestoes which were published in defense of the cabildo, one came out which was very well grounded, the motto or inscription of which, as being ingenious

lege that you enjoy through my favor you may not employ to my distress." The second is a school axiom, derived from Aristotle, to be encountered in higher philosophy and metaphysics; it may be found in glossaries or expositions of terms used by schoolmen, but its explanation therein is usually somewhat prolix and even obscure. It may be translated thus: "Whenever any thing (or cause) is of such or such a character (or kind), it possesses that characteristic in higher degree than that which derives therefrom (*i.e.*, than its effect or result)."-REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

and apropos, is worthy of being noted here; it said, *Non licet tibi habere uxorem fratris tui Philippi* (Mark vi, v. 18),¹²⁰ alluding to the name of the deceased archbishop, and to their both belonging to the same order. But the bishop of Troya, notwithstanding he was so learned and so holy, was very hard to dissuade from his opinion, although on the present occasion he had every one against him; and although he withdrew his claims, on account of the urgent representations made by the acting governor and the other auditors and all the religious orders, he yielded through constraint and not from conviction. The cabildo continued its government, with much peace, during the vacancy of the see.

During this interval the year 1690 came in, and the acting governor despatched the galleon "Nuestra Señora del Rosario" to Nueva España, in command of General Don José Madrazo; and in it embarked Master-of-camp Don Juan de Vargas. In order to do this he had left his place of banishment at Lingayén, after having suffered great hardships; and the end of these was to die on this voyage, in the higher latitude. [This occurred] at a place which people call Doña María de la Jara, of considerable note on account of the many deaths which have occurred in that place; for among those who have died there are four proprietary governors, and some acting governors, and some auditors, and the above-mentioned bishop of Troya. Accordingly this place is the dread of those who sail in that navigation, and

¹²⁰ This doctrine of the Manila cabildo and of the author might at that time be quite current; but since then, by the Concordat of 1851, and especially by the bull of his Holiness Pius IX, the Roman pontiff, issued on August 28, 1873, the church has sanctioned the opposite opinion.—FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

especially for persons of so high degree; for the poor seamen go and come past it with greater security.

After this galleon had been despatched, news came about June of the landing of the galleon "Santo Niño," which in the preceding year had sailed for Acapulco, in charge of Don Antonio de Astina; in it came, as its commander, Don Juan de Garaycoechea – a Navarrese, from the valley of Baztán – who was married in Manila, and had spent several years in Nueva España. In the galleon came the new governor, Don Fausto Cruzat [y] Góngora, a knight of the Order of Santiago; he was a Navarrese, a native of Pamplona, of the illustrious lineage of Cruzat – well known in that kingdom, since from it have proceeded men so distinguished as Don Martín de Redín y Cruzat, grand master of Malta; and his brother Don Tiburcio de Redín, well known for his courage and still more for his virtue, for, having entered the Capuchin order, he merited that his biography should be printed with the title, *The Spanish Capuchin*, as an example for his successors. An illustrious shoot from this house of Cruzat is also the glorious St. Francis Xavier, the apostle of India.

This gentleman brought his wife, Doña Beatriz de Aróstegui y Aguirre, a native of Cádiz, a matron of great beauty and still greater virtue; three sons, Don Martín, Don Fausto, and Don Juan; and two daughters, Doña Ignacia and Doña Teresa. He also brought a sister, named Doña Teresa de Aróstegui, who afterward married the aforesaid Don Juan de Garaycoechea, then a knight of the Order of Santiago, who later died in Méjico. Don Fausto had been waiting in that city three years, until the term allowed to Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui in the gov-

ernment here should be completed; and he would have waited much longer if Don Gabriel's death had not dispensed him from a longer detention, for with him was begun the practice of sending successors who may be on the watch for the governor's [term of] life – I know not whether it be to wish him well. Much could be said of this, and of the great difficulties which can result from such a precaution – such as the sale of offices, as has been done for many years; but it is not my obligation to give an opinion on matters of state, but to relate facts without contesting the laws.

Governor Don Fausto brought here many persons of good family: Don Juan Lingurín, a man of great virtue, who died in Manila with the reputation of being a great servant of God; for he was greatly addicted to meditation, prayer, and mortification. Sargento-mayor Don Fernando Iglesias Montañés, his secretary, who afterward married Doña María Morante, who came in the suite of the governor's wife. Don Juan de Rivas, a native of Galicia, and a general in the army; he married another lady of Doña Beatriz's household, named Doña Juana de Aragón. Captain Don Miguel de Salazar, of Toledo, who was grievously slain in the year 1709. Don Angel Liaño, Captain Don Frutos Delgado, Don Pedro de Subirá, Don Francisco Valdés, Don José de Verolucas, and many others. [Among these were] General Don Pedro de Lucena and Captain Don Lucas de Lucena, brothers, who are still living; Captain Don José de Luzarrondo, a Navarrese; Captain de Iriarte, who afterward returned to España; and Master Don Juan Aguilar, the governor's chaplain, who had spent some time in these islands, being one

of the household of the bishop of Sinopolis, Don Fray Juan Durán, assistant of the bishop of Cebú. In this galleon came Captain Don Patricio de Aguila – an Irishman, brother of the pilot Guillermo de Aguila – and Captain Pedro Quijada, both married; and other officers who are still living, with an excellent reënforcement of men for the Manila garrison.

What is most important for our history is, that a numerous and choice mission of religious for this province came, in charge of father Fray Álvaro de Benavente, who in 1686 had been sent [to Europa] for this purpose, and made his voyage by way of Batavia and Holanda, as we have briefly related. That navigation was very difficult, because when the Dutch ships with which he was going approached the English Channel they learned that at its entrance was a French fleet. For this reason they changed their route, doubling Cape Clare, a promontory of Ireland; and they went as far as 63° of [north] latitude, so that they could sail around the northern extremity of Scotland, and therefore they suffered great cold and hardship. As soon as father Fray Álvaro de Benavente arrived at Bilbao with his companion Fray Juan Verganzo, he set out on his journey to the court, where he presented his despatches, and explained the reasons why he had made his voyage by way of Batavia; for this route was strictly prohibited by his Majesty, and might cause much hindrance to the procurators. Having secured the approval of the Duke de Medinaceli and the lords of the royal Council of the Indias, he departed for the Roman court, to ask for the relaxation of the oaths which the missionaries in China were com-

manded to take, of obedience to the apostolic vicars sent out by the holy Congregation of the Propaganda. [Diaz relates with some detail the progress and success of this embassy by Benavente, because the question at issue therein has an important place in the controversy over the line of demarcation between the domains of Spain and Portugal in the East; but we omit this part, as it is unimportant for our narrative.]

[Father Fray Álvaro] also had to obtain from our very reverend general Fray Fulgencio Travalloni various statutes and corporate laws for the government of this province; and these were [in the form of] fifty-eight decrees, given in the convent of San Martín at Sena [*i.e.*, Sienna], on May 28, 1688, [while the father general was engaged] in the general visitation of Italia; father Fray Álvaro brought them in printed form, with a Roman imprint. But with the course of time it was found by experience that these laws were unduly rigorous, and not very satisfactory for the government of this province; and it was continually asking for dispensations from them, until our father general Fray Adeodato Nuzzi, of Altamira, sent orders that this province should change and correct them as it should find expedient; and this was done in the intermediate chapter of the year 1710. Father Fray Álvaro brought many favors and jubilees from his Holiness for many convents of this province, and a bull to the effect that the religious who, knowing any language of the provinces under our charge, should explain [the Christian doctrine] in the convent of Manila for a period of eight years should bear the title of "Master," with the exemptions belonging to that dignity, and that he might

exercise a perpetual vote in the provincial chapters; but up to the present time there has been no religious who has devoted himself to that occupation, or attracted much importance to this so unusual concession.

For the missionaries in China he gained the subsidy and stipend which his Majesty gives to the missionaries of the other religious orders, that is, a hundred pesos to each one for a year's support. He obtained a royal decree that the trade and commerce with the Portuguese of Macán, which until that time had been forbidden and full of risk, should be free; and this dispensation was obtained only by the information given by father Fray Álvaro de Benavente that this was the safest door by which the missionaries could gain entrance into China. But the Portuguese, although they enjoy greatly to their profit the commerce of Manila, which is the chief means of their preservation, carry out very poorly the arrangement, as regards giving passage to the missionaries; for not only do they not give them entrance, but they inflict many annoyances on the religious, as they did with this very father Fray Álvaro, in both his first and his second visit to China. What keeps them in this attitude is the incorrectly understood patronage of their king of Portugal; for they can claim the same things in Mogol, Persia, Turquia and Constantinople, and in the empire of Trapisonda, as included in the hemisphere of their demarcation. Father Fray Álvaro returned to España with a commission of vicar-general (which had been granted to him very fully by our own reverend father general); and he busied himself in calling together the religious who were to come in the mission [to Filipinas]. Since he

had passed through the province of Aragón on his return from Roma, some religious offered themselves to him there, not only from Aragón but from Valencia; and there some others who afterward were enlisted by father Fray Pedro Cerro – to whom father Fray Álvaro had delegated his own powers, since father Fray Pedro was a religious who was very friendly to this province, and zealous for the good of souls.

Before father Fray Álvaro reached Manila with his religious, Governor Don Fausto Cruzat y Góngora made his entry into the city; this was done on St. James's day, in the afternoon. Two magnificent and very beautiful triumphal arches were erected for him, with large emblematic representations and ingenious allegories. One was made at the cost and by the care of the Society of Jesus; and the other by the care of our Augustinian fathers, at the place where the governor would pass our convent of San Pablo, with the idea of the history of Janus – with ingenious Latin inscriptions and epigrams, explained in Castilian eight-line stanzas; and to these were added, in all these places, praises [of the governor]. This was the last reception of this sort that was given to the governors, its disuse being begun with the next governor, Don Domingo de Zabalburu – who, as he came wearing mourning for the death of our king Don Carlos II, would not allow this festal mode of reception.

CHAPTER XX

On the third day after the solemn entry of the governor, the religious of the mission here by father Fray Álvaro de Benavente made their entrance into

the convent of Manila; and on July 28 a private session of the definitory was held in order to admit and adopt them into this province. The following is a list of them:

1. Father Fray Diego Bañales, a native of Coruña, and a son of the convent at Santiago; aged forty years, and twenty-three in the order; a preacher and confessor. He came as confessor to the governor's wife; was prior of Guadalupe, a definitor, and president of the chapter; and died at Manila, on January 29, 1706.

2. The father reader Fray Carlos Terrazas, a son of the house at Valencia, thirty-two years old and having professed sixteen years before; he was minister in the Pintados or Bisayas provinces, and of very great virtue; he died in the convent of Dumarao, on October 18, 1694.

3. The father reader Fray Nicolás Bernet, a native of the town of Epila, and son of the convent at Zaragoza; twenty-seven years old, and a professed for ten years; he was prior of Cebú; and died at Manila, on May 1, 1701.

4. The father preacher Fray José de Ribera, a native of Madrid, and son of the convent of San Felipe; forty years of age, and twenty-three in the order; was minister in the provinces of Tagalos; and died at Pasig on May 21, 1706.

5. The father preacher Fray Gelasio Giménez, a son of the convent at Valencia; twenty-seven years of age, and ten and a half in the order; was minister in the province of Ilocos; and died there on August 12, 1694.

6. The father reader Fray José Carbonel, son of the convent at Valencia, and master of the students

therein; twenty-five years old, and nine in the order; was minister in the province of Ilocos; and died at the village of Candong, on March 19, 1711.

7. The father preacher Fray Martín Fuentes, a son of the convent at Zaragoza; twenty-seven years old, and nine years and four months in the order; has been a minister in the province of Pampanga, and a defnitor; and is still¹²¹ living, a minister in Bisayas, and examiner of literature for the Holy Office.

8. The father preacher Fray Nicolás Servent, a native of Valencia, son of the house at Alcoy; aged twenty-eight years, and ten in the order. He is still living, a minister in the province of Pampanga, the prior of Macabebe.

9. The father preacher Fray José de Aranda, a native of Estella, and son of the convent at Zaragoza; aged thirty-one years, and five in the order; was minister in the provinces of Tagalos; and died at Manila, on October 11, 1698.

10. The father reader Fray Blas Díaz, son of the convent at Zaragoza; aged twenty-three years, and seven and a half in the order; he was minister in the provinces of Tagalos, and returned to España.

11. The father preacher Fray Pedro Beltrán, a native of Valencia, and son of the house at Alcira; aged thirty-two years, and six in the order; he is now living, a minister in the provinces of Bisayas.

12. Father Fray Pedro Baldo, son of the convent at Valencia; aged twenty-six years, and nine in the order; was minister in Bisayas, where he died on

¹²¹ It should be remembered that this part of the *Conquistas* was written in 1718.—FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

April 27, 1716, while prior of the convent at Dumarao.

13. The father preacher Fray Juan Barruelo, a native of Candelario, in the bishopric of Plasencia, and son of the convent at Salamanca; aged twenty-four years, and six in the order; was minister in China for several years, and at the present time is definitor and prior of the convent of Apalit in Pampanga.

14. The brother chorister Fray Tomás Ortiz, a native of Dueñas, and son of the convent at Valladolid; aged twenty-two years, and three in the order; was minister in China eighteen years, and vicar-provincial of that mission; afterward he was prior of the convent at Manila, and still lives, the present provincial of this province.

15. The brother chorister Fray Diego Megía, a native of Madrid, and son of the convent of San Felipe; twenty-one years of age, and three and a half in the order; was minister in the provinces of Tagalos, where he died as prior of the convent of Tanauan, on October 4, 1699.

16. The brother chorister Fray José Ruiz, son of the convent at Burgos, and native of that city; aged twenty-two years; is minister of the province of Ilocos, and has been visitor of this province.

17. The brother [chorister?] Fray José de Echebel, son of the convent at Zaragoza; aged twenty-two years, and six in the order; was a minister in Bisayas; and died about March, 1706.

18. The brother chorister Fray Facundo Trepát, a native of Caspe, son of the convent at Zaragoza; aged twenty years, and three and a half in the order; has been definitor, and is now a minister in the provinces of Bisayas.

19. The brother chorister Fray José Bosquet, a native of Valencia, and son of the house at Epila; twenty years of age, and two in the order; is a minister in the provinces of Bisayas, and now definitor of this province.

20. The brother chorister Fray Guillermo Sebastián, a son of the house at Vinaroz; aged nineteen years, and two and a half in the order; was a minister in the province of Ilocos, and died as prior of Bantay, on December 13, 1698.

21. The brother chorister Fray Eugenio Costales, a son of the convent of Sevilla; aged twenty-one years, and three in the order; is now a minister in the province of Ilocos.

22. The brother novice Fray Juan Hidalgo López, a native of Extremadura; aged twenty-eight years; is a minister in the province of Pampanga.

23. The brother novice Fray Juan Núñez, a native of Medina del Campo; aged twenty-three years; was a minister in China for many years; and at present is a minister in the province of Ilocos, and its vicar-provincial.

24. The brother novice Fray Fernando Ricote, a native of Asturias; aged twenty-eight years; was a minister in Bisayas; and died at Cebú in the year 1698.

25. The brother novice Fray Isidro López, a native of Madrid; aged seventeen years; was a minister in the provinces of Pampanga and Tagalos; and died while he was visitor, and prior of Guiguinto, on February 21, 1716.

26. The lay brother Fray Francisco de Sevilla, a son of the convent at Játiva; aged thirty-one years, and five in the order; he was eminent in virtue, prayer, and mortification, and rendered much service

to the convent of Manila, where he met a pious death on March 31, 1711.

27. The lay brother Fray Nicolás Codura, a son of the convent at Epila; aged thirty years, and seven in the order; he lives in the convent at Manila, where he has rendered good service, and still does so.

All these religious have been very useful to this province in its ministries and instruction, and in the missions of China – the progress of which from their foundation will be set down separately and all together, by way of recapitulation,¹²² ending this history with this chapter. For if I were to continue it further it would be necessary to speak of the living, and [personal] considerations might render the truth liable to suspicion; and although truth is the essential form and the soul of history it cannot become the instructor of the times, or be a [reliable] witness about them, when suspicion can challenge it. I will, however, record in this chapter some of the acts of Don Fausto in his government¹²³ – which, although they were just, were rendered intolerable by the violence and harshness with which they were executed; for the body politic of the Manila colony is not fit for so strong cathartic remedies, since its weakness can only endure anodynes and emollients.

This gentleman commenced the course of his government with great integrity and rectitude, and very

¹²² This recapitulation or resumé of the labors of our missionaries in China was either not written by Father Diaz, or he wrote it in a separate book which we do not possess. – FRAY TIRSO LÓPEZ.

¹²³ One of the most important acts of this governor was the publication (October 1, 1696) of a revision of the "Ordinances of good government" which Corcuera had enacted in 1642; some account of these will be given in a later volume.

clean hands—grand qualities from which to expect a good government, although not well liked by all. All his desire, assiduity, and effort were directed to the increase of the royal revenues; and this he kept up to the end of his government, with such extreme application that what appeared to the governor justice seemed [to the people] cruelty. But here Justice used only the edges of the sword, without weighing with the balances that she held in the other hand the difficulties of time and occasion. Don Gabriel de Curucelaegui had not pushed this matter very far before troubles which gave him greater anxiety diverted his mind from this occupation. In a short time Don Fausto acquired great comprehension of the conduct of government and of all the measures which could increase the royal revenues; and he found that a very considerable amount was due to the exchequer, not only from the living but from the dead, from the collections of the royal tributes and from other sources. Don Fausto applied himself to the collection, with excessive rigor, of what the citizens of Manila owed to the royal treasury, without considering that most of the debtors were bankrupt, and almost destitute through lack of means; others were now dead, and search was made for their heirs and executors, in order to compel them to satisfy these claims.¹²⁴ While these

¹²⁴ "He devoted himself to the recovery of the immense sums which were due to the king from the citizens of Manila; and with these he rebuilt the governor's palace, added to it the halls for the royal Audiencia, and in the lower story offices for the bureau of accounts, established the jail for the court, and began the royal storehouses. By various expedients he contrived the saving of thousands of pesos to the royal treasury, sums which now are deducted from the situado—although this was partly done by greatly curtailing the pay of both officers and soldiers, for which

investigations were being made, the prisons and fortifications were filled with debtors, more fit to ask alms than to pay their debts; others took refuge in the churches, where they remained a long time without being able to look for means of support. In every direction there were seizures and auctions, exactions and investigations. By this assiduity Don Fausto placed much silver in the royal treasury; but his Majesty does not choose to flay thus his vassals, but rather, as a good shepherd, to shear off the wool without cutting away the skin in which it has its roots. This inflexibility in collecting the debts owed to the royal exchequer, and his great eagerness to increase it, have caused great expenses, some superfluous and others necessary; and these traits in Don Fausto continued throughout the period of his government – which was the longest that has occurred in these islands, since it reached eleven years.¹²⁵

Considering that in these islands there is no equipment of iron-works for making anchors, and that the Dutch of Batavia, as they are so ingenious, have abundance of all that pertains to navigation, he sent Don Pedro de Ariosolo with title of ambassador, accompanied by some Spaniards – Don Martín de Tejada, Don José Pestaño de Cueva, Don Juan de Tejada, and others, among the prominent citizens of he deserves little praise. To the royal treasury of Mexico he saved more than five hundred thousand pesos which it was owing to that of Philipinas in situados.” (*Zúñiga's Historia*, p. 394.)

¹²⁵ The sentence pronounced in the residencia of Governor Cruzat y Gongora (published June 6, 1602) is given in full in the *Ventura del Arco MSS.* (Ayer library), iv, pp. 209-234. Some forty charges were made against him; some were sustained, making him liable to judgments of about 31,000 pesos; others were referred to the home government; but on the majority he was acquitted.

Manila. These envoys were very well received in Batavia, and so well did they succeed in their errand that they brought back many and excellent anchors, which were used for many years. This transaction was repeated afterward by Governor Don Domingo de Zabalburu, who sent for the same purpose General Miguel Martínez, Don Gregorio Escalante, Don Juan de San Pedro, and others, whose errand was as successful as that of the former envoys, through the good management and great liberality of the ambassador. Such endeavors have not always had the desired effect; for in the past year of 1717 the present governor, Mariscal Don Fernando Bustillo Bustamente y Rueda, sent General Don Fernando de Angulo as ambassador to Batavia to procure some anchors, but he returned without them.

The first galleon that Don Fausto despatched for Nueva España was the "Santo Cristo de Burgos," in charge of General Don Francisco de Arcocha, his pilot being Lazcano; the voyage was a prosperous one, and the galleon returned in the following year of 1692, in charge of the captain of mounted cuirassiers Don Bernardo de Bayo, who was sent by the viceroy Conde de Galves, who took away that office from Don Francisco de Arcocha. It is said that the cause of this change was resentment on the part of the said Conde because he had in the year 1689 sent Don Gabriel de Arnedo y Escudero, a gentleman of his household, as commander of the galleon—because the commander who had come with the ship, Lucas Mateo de Urquiza, had remained at Acapulco sick (not being willing to follow the second route, which Don Pedro de Ariosolo was taking)—and Don Gabriel de Arnedo y Escu-

dero had returned in the said galleon "Santo Cristo" as a passenger and not as a commander (although he died on the way) ; and, annoyed at this, the viceroy had taken the office from Don Francisco de Arcocha and given it to Don Bernardo de Bayo. It would have been better if the galleon had not come at all, for it was wrecked on the return trip, as we shall see later.

With Don Gabriel de Arnedo came the auditor Licentiate Don Juan de Ozaeta y Oro, a native of Lima, with his wife and children, who the preceding year had not been able to embark on account of the lack of accommodations in the patache "San Fernando," in which came the investigating judge and the three auditors. Licentiate Don Juan de Ozaeta was highly esteemed for his learning, and for having been an official of great integrity and uprightness. He completed his six years' term as auditor of Filipinas, and embarked for Méjico, where he was for many years *alcalde* of criminal cases for that city, with the same reputation for integrity and rectitude. The new auditors brought orders from his Majesty that two of them should go first to visit the provinces¹²⁶ of these islands, and

¹²⁶ In the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), iv, pp. 235-244, is a summary of a long document, a "Vindication of the official acts performed in the visitation of Camarines by Licentiate Don Francisco Gueruela, member of his Majesty's Council and *alcalde* of court in the royal Audiencia of these islands, and visitor for the Audiencia in that province in the past year, 1702." The summary reads as follows:

It is divided into three parts: the first contains, besides the preface, a brief summary of all the edicts which were published in those villages, and which are being brought out by his order. The second comprises a more than succinct relation of the false charges which the said visitation had encountered, and edicts about which with Christian impiety they had dissembled to him.

draw up an enumeration of the royal tributes, their two associates remaining [at Manila] to serve in the royal Audiencia. For this task two auditors set out –

The third is reduced to a brief legal demonstration of the authority which the visitor possesses to institute summary legal proceedings against the religious who are in charge of doctrinas, without danger from the bull *In cœna* or any other censure whatever.

In the preface – which is crammed with citations from the holy fathers, the Scriptures, and [various other] writers – the zealous [*flamante*] auditor Gueruela says that he spent a month in obtaining information about the condition of the villages in the province of Camarines, before he began the visitation; and in that time, through the investigations which he made, he learned that the evils which the religious teachers cause to the Indians were deeply rooted, and required an effective remedy. He says that as he was uncertain by what means to carry out his purposes, he undertook first, to induce the religious, through persuasion and careful consideration, to agree to a reform of the abuses with which they were oppressing the Indians; but that, as they paid no attention to this, he had no other recourse than to carry out the visitation, in spite of his fear that the religious in the doctrinas would oppose him, and that they might as a last resort renounce their charges and entirely abandon the villages, which was or would be a misfortune demanding very careful consideration. But [he felt] that justice and right had greater power [than these considerations], in order to liberate from slavery the 30,000 souls of that province, whose ruin was being brought about by the sixteen religious who were administering those villages, who were receiving more than 19,000 pesos.

Part first

(In which is contained the summary of all the edicts published in the visitation; and the attestation of them separately.)

1. That the natives shall not contribute to the curas of the doctrinas any food supplies without pay for the value of these.
2. That they shall not perform any labor or personal services for the said religious without pay.
3. That the same be understood for the plain sewing, the spinning, and the embroidery for the churches and the sacristies, for the inside garments of the religious and their servants.
4. That the young girls [*dalagas*] shall not sweep the churches and their courts; and that, in their place, twenty young men [*baguntaos*] and the boys in the schools shall assist.
5. The said girls shall not pound rice as a repartimiento for the religious, or for their treasurers or agents [*sindicos o fiscales*];

Don Alonso de Abella Fuertes to visit the provinces of Cagayán, Ilocos, and Pampanga; and Don Juan de Sierra to visit those of Cebú, Ogtón, and Panay, although he visited only the last two. After Don Alonso Fuertes had returned from his commission, Licentiate Don Juan de Ozaeta went to visit the provinces of Tagalos, and made the enumeration of the tributes.

nor shall they go to the convent for the unthreshed rice [*palay*], nor deliver that which has been cleaned. All this shall be in the charge of the *gobernadorcillos*, their constables, and other officials, who shall transport the said produce, see that the rice is pounded, and deliver it, to the satisfaction of the religious.

6. Food, wax, candles, etc., shall not be collected from the natives under any pretext of usage, custom, or devotion; nor shall they be obliged to [render] personal services without pay.

7. They shall not be domestics, cooks, *mananguetes*, fishermen, gardeners, or [act in] other personal employ for the religious, without pay.

8. Each entire tribute shall pay three reals a year as a contribution to the festivities of the Monument [on Holy Thursday], the *Sanctorum* [*i.e.*, a tax paid by the natives above sixteen years, to the church], and the *Pintacasi*; and four gantas of *palay* rice besides, for the *Defunctorum* [*i.e.*, masses for the dead?].

9. At the feast of St. Francis the natives shall not work without pay, or at their own cost, in the *palas-palas* [*i.e.*, cutting of ?] bamboo frames and bejucos, except when they fail to pay the real for the *Pintacasi*. [This word is defined in Noceda and Sanlucar's Tagal *Vocabulario*, "to aid another in seedtime, gratuitously."]

10. The support or *pacaen* of the religious shall not be contributed gratis in the large villages; and in the small ones the obligations which the Indians may have formed shall be fulfilled; but if they have not done so, as they have no obligations they shall not contribute without pay.

11. There shall be no fiscals appointed in the villages by the religious, but only guardians, without rods; nor shall there be constables; and they shall not be authorized to arrest, flog, or punish the natives.

12. The father ministers have no temporal jurisdiction over their parishioners; and as little have they ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except in the tribunal of conscience, and for admonishing and instructing the people, administering the sacraments, saying mass, and teaching the [Christian] doctrine, etc.

Don Fausto placed on the stocks the largest gal-
 leon that had ever been built; for it was three codos
 longer than the largest that had been built in the
 world. This enterprise was carried on by Master-
 of-camp Don Tomás de Endaya, who by application
 had become very skilful in this art, and he was there-
 fore the superintendent of this construction; which
 was completed in less than nine months, to the

13. For the same reason the civil government of the villages
 is not in their keeping; nor shall the [local] authorities ask per-
 mission from the religious to execute the orders of their *alcaldes-*
mayor, or to entertain travelers and furnish them what they
 need for its just value.

14. The wills, contracts, and obligations of the Indians which
 shall hereafter be made, must be sent to the record-office of the
alcalde-mayor, without registering them in the convents.

15. The religious in charge of doctrinas have no authority to
 arrest, flog, or punish the natives, either in person or through
 intervening agencies; and the Indians, both men and women,
 must not allow themselves to be arrested or flogged by the reli-
 gious. If this is done by order of the syndics and fiscals, let
 them defend themselves against the judges in what way they can.

16. Nothing shall be collected from the natives for burials,
 baptisms, and marriages.

Then follow comments on these regulations, and in vindication
 of them — exceedingly prolix on account of being full of citations,
 some timely and others the opposite. He states therein that for the
 service of the parish churches he ordered that the following should
 render assistance: Four servants for the parochial house; one
 doorkeeper for each convent; and people enough to carry the
 hammocks and litters [*talabones*] when the minister shall go forth
 to administer the sacraments. Two sacristans; and the acolytes
 and the singers for the services in the churches. Twenty young
 men [*baguntaos*], to sweep the churches and their courts every
 week or every day. Two laundresses, for keeping clean the cloths
 and vestments in the sacristies. All the young girls [*dalagas*],
 but outside of the convents, to embroider and sew all the articles
 of cloth that are necessary for divine worship. A guardian who
 shall notify the religious of matters pertaining to their obligations.
 A syndic, who shall attend to collecting what belongs to them.

[He says] that the oppressions which are caused by the service
 which was compulsory in furnishing the *dalagas* consisted in the

astonishment of everyone – although with some cause for scandal, since the men worked on it even on the most important feast-days, not stopping even on Holy Thursday. He gave it the name of “San José,” and appointed Don José Madrazo its commander; and it was launched very successfully. It sailed from this headland of Cavite on the day of Sts. Peter and Paul in 1694;¹²⁷ and on July 3, in the night, it was dashed to pieces on the coast of Lubán, and more than four hundred persons were drowned. It was reckoned that if the men had not worked on the feast-days the vessel would have been completed more slowly, and would have sailed many days later, and the furious hurricane that was the cause of its wreck would not have caught it on the sea, with the

following: Under the pretext of needlework and embroidery, the religious compelled the dalagas to be in continual attendance in the houses of the syndics and mistresses, where they not only sewed and embroidered the articles for the sacristy, but also the inner garments of the religious and the outer garments of their servants. Besides, they must do whatever was commanded them by the mistresses themselves, and their fiscals and syndics; and the fields of all these were sown with grain, without pay, by the wretched dalagas. At the same time, assessments were levied annually in each village for [church] ornaments; and this sum, in the village of Caramuan alone, amounted to 800 pesos the year before. It must be considered that, besides these things, the villages were burdened by the maintenance (at their own cost) of two or three pavilions [*camarines*; for temporary churches], for extra supplies of timber of all sizes, and also limestone, for the repairs and adornment of the churches.

After presenting various considerations, he proceeds to refute the false charges which the Franciscan religious published against him, who said that he had treated them as if they were criminals; that he had falsified the edicts, varying them from the original process; and that all the declarations of the witnesses were false, as also the remonstrances of the villages.

¹²⁷ In the text, misprinted 1684. Occasional typographical errors are found in the printed edition of Diaz, which we correct in our text.

deaths of so many persons and the loss of the great amount of merchandise that it carried; for it is considered certain that no larger or richer galleon had plowed the waters of the sea, for the wealth that it carried was incredible.

While this loss was so great, one of the most grievous losses that these islands have suffered, it was made worse by the non-arrival of the galleon that was expected that year, the "Santo Cristo de Burgos," in charge of General Don Bernardo Ignacio del Bayo – who, as we have said, was sent by the viceroy Conde de Galves in the year of 1691, and returned in the same ship the following year; and it put back to the port of Solsogón, after having endured great tempests. It remained at Solsogón in order to continue its voyage the year of 1693, as it did; but it not only failed to reach port, but was wrecked, without our gaining the least knowledge of the place where that occurred. There were some suspicions that it was destroyed by fire (a danger for which there is on the sea no help), for at one of the Marianas Islands were found fragments of burned wood, which were sent [here] by the governor of Filipinas, Don José Madrazo, and were recognized to be of woods that are found in these islands only. Careful search was made for many years along the coasts of South America, and in other regions; but not the least news of this ship has been received. Among the persons who were lost in this galleon was a religious who was most highly esteemed by this province for his great virtue and learning; this was the father reader Fray Francisco de Ugarte, a Vizcayan, a native of Marquina, who came as superior of the mission which reached this province in the

year 1684; he had been sent in this galleon to España, as procurator of the province, to ask for a new reënforcement of missionaries. Much could be said of the great virtue of this religious, of his frequent prayer and mortification, his poverty, his extraordinary humility and affability – which I omit, in order not to seem too partial to him, or expose myself to the censure which I have seen incurred by many historians among the regulars, who have indulged in so excessive praises of this sort that they expose themselves to the charge of being too partial, because the persons eulogized are of their own houses.

By these so calamitous events the islands were reduced to a miserable condition, on account of the loss of two good galleons and of so much wealth, belonging to so many that one might say it was the wealth of all [the citizens of Manila]. There was a little alleviation of our affliction that year, but it was so little that it could hardly be regarded as succor – that before the great galleon left Cavite a small patache entered that port which the viceroy of Nueva España had sent with some slight assistance, in charge of Don Andrés de Arriola, a Sevillian gentleman of great courage and renown. He returned to Nueva España in a small vessel which was purchased for 6,000 pesos from a Portuguese merchant named Juan de Abreu; it was so small that the authorities ordered, under heavy penalties, that no citizen should send in this vessel anything except letters, a rule which was enforced most rigorously. This patache made a very prosperous voyage; for, having passed the Marianas Islands, which is the most difficult part of this navigation, and finding that their provisions were nearly gone, and that it was almost impossible to pursue their voyage,

divine Providence aided them by revealing to them an unknown island, not set down on any navigation chart. They found it uninhabited by men, but abounding in certain birds, large and heavy, and little inclined to fly, and so easy to catch that the men gave them the name of "fool birds"¹²⁸ either because of their stupidity, or as being the same as those birds which are found in Brasil and some islands of India which the Portuguese call *dodos*, which is the same as *tontos* [*i.e.*, "stupid"]. The flesh of these birds is very good, and so, by killing many of them and drying their flesh in the wind, the sailors made a very good provision of food. They also found very good water and firewood, so that they were able to continue their voyage to Acapulco. What they most regretted was, that they could not fix the latitude and situation of this island, for lack of seeing the sun; and thus the island became again unknown, and inaccessible for another like emergency. [If its location were known], it would be a great assistance in making easier this arduous and severe navigation from Filipinas to Acapulco.

Don Andrés de Arriola was afterward a knight of the Order of Santiago, commander of the Windward fleet, and governor of Vera Cruz and of Pançacola, where he rendered great services to his Majesty King Don Felipe V—his great courage enabling him to furnish large supplies of silver [to the king], despite the perils of the sea and the enemies of the crown, in the time when the armed fleets of Inglaterra and Holanda were infesting the seas and obstructing the commerce with America.

Among the losses which Governor Don Fausto

¹²⁸ Spanish, *pájaros bobos*; evidently referring to the bird commonly known as "booby" (VOL. XVII, p. 130).

experienced in the time of his government, the greatest in his estimation was the death of his spouse Doña Beatriz de Aróstegui, in 1694; he loved her dearly, an affection deserved by her beauty, the many children that she had borne him, her great virtues, and sweet disposition – for which all the people loved her as the rainbow of peace, as she greatly moderated the choleric disposition of her husband. She died, this Rachel in beauty and Leah in fruitfulness, in the second year of the government of Don Fausto.¹²⁹ She was given a burial with honors in our church at Manila, and in the following year her remains were transferred to a beautiful chapel in the chancel, erected and adorned for this purpose. [This chapel contains the sculptured figure of the lady, with some Latin inscriptions, which are here omitted.] Well was this monument merited by a matron so virtuous, loved and revered by all for her great virtues; and her death was all the more regretted on account of her youth. The funeral honors which were solemnized for her were the most splendid ever seen in these islands (and it would be difficult to equal them in any other country, even with great expenditures); for the great abundance in these islands of wax and of the other materials for pomp which can increase the magnificence of functions of this kind, render them very easy. But this abuse is at present greatly moderated, as a result of the recent royal decree which was published that these vain parades be diminished.

¹²⁹ Governor Cruzat y Gongora died at sea, on the voyage from Manila to Acapulco, on November 5, 1702; and his youngest daughter on December 12 of the same year. (Ventura del Arco MSS., iv, p. 245.)

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